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### Through Him with Him and in Him

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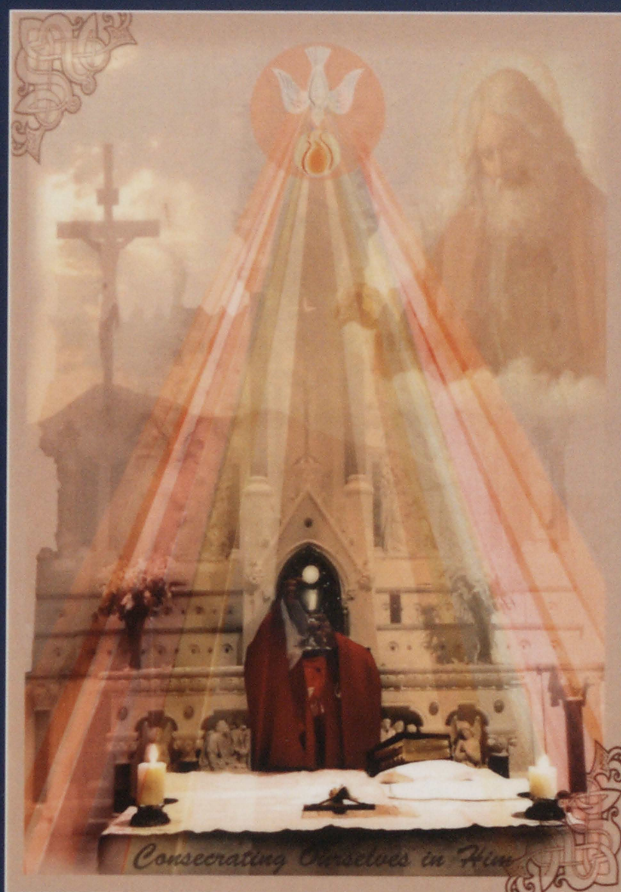
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# Through Him with Him and in Him

A Theological Reconstruction of the Authentic Meaning of Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Works of Edward J. Kilmartin S.J.



Manoj Prabu Mariadhasan Baby

Theologische Perspectieven  
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# THROUGH HIM WITH HIM AND IN HIM

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Sacrifice in the Works of Edward J. Kilmartin S.J.



# THROUGH HIM WITH HIM AND IN HIM

A Theological Reconstruction of the Authentic Meaning of Eucharistic  
Sacrifice in the Works of Edward J. Kilmartin S.J.

Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor  
aan Tilburg University  
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prof. dr. E. H. L. Aarts,  
in het openbaar te verdedigen ten overstaan van een  
door het college voor promoties aangewezen commissie  
in de aula van de Universiteit

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door

Manoj Prabu Mariadhasan Baby  
geboren op 20 juli 1977 te Eraniel, Tamil Nadu, India

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## DEDICATION

To my loving Sister, M. Catherine Kala RIP, my Mother, Varghese Ammaal Baby RIP and my Father K. Mariadhasan RIP. Though departed this world, to my everlasting sorrow, the memory of their loving and eternal Spirits continues to sustain and nourish me in my priestly vocation every day.

*And*

To Monsignor Clemens Feldhoff, Erzbistum Köln, Fr. Thomas McCormick, Archdiocese of Denver, Canon Bernard Magee, Castlewellan, Fr. Eugene Filice A.R.D.O.R and Fr. Donal Bennett S.S.C, whose priestly characters humble my own priestly life.

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## A SYSTEMATIC RECONSTRUCTION OF KILMARTIN'S VIEWS ON EUCCHARISTIC SACRIFICE

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

‘Sacrifice’ is an integral part of human life. And the greater the sacrifice, the greater the achievement. Sacrifice “is never the result of selfishness.”<sup>1</sup>

In the opening pages of his book, *Sacrifice Unveiled*, Robert J. Daly (1933–) gave an interesting narrative of his experience in a church in Germany illustrating the true meaning of sacrifice. In a similar fashion, I also begin this dissertation by returning to the uplifting account of Kamma,<sup>2</sup> a 53-year-old woman from a poor family in India, whose story I first related in my master’s thesis. A woman of great heart, strength of character, and will, Kamma’s devotion to the welfare of her family exemplifies the best in Catholic family life and love.

Kamma’s mother was a fishmonger. To support her family, every day Kamma’s mother would walk for miles, often barefoot, selling her fish in the surrounding villages. This hard life took its toll, and though her mother tried to hide it, Kamma knew how much her mother suffered working to raise the family alone. Kamma’s father, who had developed a dependency on alcohol, had all but abandoned his responsibilities towards his wife and children, leaving the family to fend for itself. Kamma was not only left deeply saddened by her father’s rejection and neglect, but as the eldest child, she was also keenly aware of the problems her family would face as a result of it. Out of the love she bore for her family, Kamma was bravely determined to take up responsibility for her family’s welfare, and volunteered to marry Johnny, an illiterate fisherman who lived next door to the family. Johnny was not an obvious choice of husband for Kamma, who was well-educated and also a fully qualified teacher; however, he probably knew and understood her family’s difficult situation and was willing to support her in her struggle to raise her impoverished family.

But this was not the only sacrifice Kamma was to make. Knowing that she and Johnny would never be able to provide both for her siblings<sup>3</sup> and children of their own, Kamma and Johnny agreed they would not bear children and would allow the rest of the village to believe she was barren when no children resulted from their marriage. Only Johnny and she knew the truth that Kamma had, in fact, made herself barren, thereby forever sacrificing the joy of motherhood for the sake of her family.

Was Kamma’s sacrifice authentic from the Christian perspective? Is the sacrifice of one’s own happiness for the sake of the happiness of others the truest sacrifice? Sacrifice can take many forms, from the greatest act of surrendering one’s own life to save another’s, to the simple act of giving up one’s seat on a bus to someone who looks like they might need it. How does the Christian community in the modern worldview understand the phenomenon of sacrifice? How *should* it view sacrifice? These seemingly simple and basic questions lie at the heart of this dissertation.

---

<sup>1</sup> Norman Hill, quoted from Richard Alan Krieger, *Civilization’s Quotations: Life’s Ideal* (New York: Algora, 2002), p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> The names in this story have been altered to protect the identities of the persons involved.

<sup>3</sup> In particular her sisters who, if they were to have any hope of marriage, would have to be provided with dowries (an often financially-ruinous system in which the parents of the Bride must give whatever is demanded by the parents of the Bridegroom).

The term 'sacrifice' is a much-debated term giving rise to misunderstandings and confusion, which is due to its association with the complexity of ancient and ritual practices with which this term is often related. In her book entitled *Beyond Sacred Violence*,<sup>4</sup> Kathryn McClymond discusses the complexity of this term, examining the concept of sacrifice within many cultural traditions. Religious sacrifice in ancient times often tended to involve bloodshed, in a manner which would, today, be considered unnecessarily violent and cruel. According to René Girard (1923-2015), violence is fundamental to the account of the origin of religion because sacrifice was something that kept religion and society moving.<sup>5</sup> Detractors of religion have been scornful of the concept of sacrifice, considering it a sign of an irrational and immoral aspect of religious practice. Yet, for many people around the world, the notion of 'sacrifice' – whether religious, secular, or somewhere in between – remains absolutely central to their understanding of themselves, their relations with others, and their place in the world. In this way, sacrifice continues to remain an integral part of our cultural and intellectual imagination.

When analysing the word 'sacrifice', it is important to state that the phenomenon of sacrifice can present itself in many different forms and that the word can have multiple meanings, some of which are more challenging than others to grasp. The most immediate reaction to 'sacrifice' is to associate it with the idea of 'giving up' something of great love and meaning, as noted by Robert J. Daly in his recent book, *Sacrifice Unveiled*.<sup>6</sup> Yet, it is clearly more complicated than merely what the notion of 'giving up' affords. For example, power relations are also involved in the notion of sacrifice. Any examination of sacrifice, with its inherent references to ritual and power, must include the positive and negative aspects of these references. What exactly does sacrifice produce? For whom, by whom, and to whom is it directed or celebrated? Is it a purely religious, cultic phenomenon, or does it also have social and moral dimensions?

Sacrifice was also central to religious life in ancient Israel.<sup>7</sup> In Christianity, the nature and characteristics of the concept of sacrifice changed, as it was applied to the death of Jesus and to the Eucharist. However, as is the case with other religions, 'sacrifice' also remained a confusing term in Christianity, giving rise to many complex questions. For example, when, in Christianity, did the concept of sacrifice move away from a material towards a spiritual and sacramental understanding of the term? For Christians, the passion, crucifixion, and death of Jesus on the Cross on Calvary is considered to be the perfect and final sacrifice, bringing with it all the fruits of redemption for all of humanity. As understood by the Catholic Church, the sacrifice of Jesus on the Cross is 'represented' in the Church's sacramental, memorial celebration of the Eucharist. The Catholic Church and Catholic theology use a number of terms to characterize the Eucharistic sacrifice and its relation to the sacrifice on the Cross: the Eucharist is said to be a bloodless, spiritualized, sacramental, and memorial

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<sup>4</sup> Kathryn McClymond, *Beyond Sacred Violence: A Comparative Study of Sacrifice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

<sup>5</sup> René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans., Patrick Gregory (London: Continuum, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> Robert J. Daly, *Sacrifice Unveiled: The True Meaning of Christian Sacrifice* (London: T&T Clark, 2009).

<sup>7</sup> Robert J. Daly, *The Origins of the Christian Doctrine of Sacrifice* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), 1-207.



sacrifice. Yet, a more precise theological interpretation of these terms has always presented a challenge.

Theological discussions about the sacrificial character of the Eucharist arose in particular during the Reformation. It became one of the key issues over which the Church in the West became divided. While Protestants attacked the sacrificial character of the Mass, Catholics defended their views through the Council of Trent, resulting in extensive discussions.

Nowadays, the concept of sacrifice has become a much-discussed topic in philosophy and in religious studies. "Sacrifice has, in recent years, become once again the subject of an interdisciplinary, scholarly debate," says Douglas Hedley.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, in contemporary systematic theology, the issue of the Eucharistic sacrifice has received little attention and, in so far as it has received any, the publications of scholars from various denominations continue leading to contradictory results and unsolved debates. Edward J. Kilmartin (1923-1994), an American theologian and Jesuit, was one of the very few modern theologians who tried to develop an overall theological approach to Eucharistic sacrifice and to overcome the impasses in which the theological interpretation of Eucharistic sacrifice had ended up. Kilmartin dealt with the topic of Eucharistic sacrifice during his whole academic career. He not only pointed out the weakness of the existing Eucharistic theology of the Christian churches, but also proposed an alternative based on thorough research from many different perspectives: he studied the biblical, historical, liturgical, and theological sources and principles in developing his view on Eucharistic sacrifice, with a special focus on early Christian liturgical practices and patristic theology. He wrote many texts in which he developed original and fundamental ideas about the Eucharistic sacrifice. Kilmartin is known for trying to give an integral meaning to the Eucharistic sacrifice through a Trinitarian model, offering from that perspective a systematic interpretation of what a sacrifice is, who offers it, and what is offered. Kilmartin's work has received recognition from contemporary theologians such as H.B. Meyer, Jerome Hall (1950-2009), Robert Daly (1933- ) and Edward P. Hahnenberg, all of whom have studied his writings. About Kilmartin's book *Christian Liturgy*, Meyer wrote: "to our knowledge, there has been no other book before this one which ... offers such a systematic and consistently Trinitarian theology of Christian worship and sacraments."<sup>9</sup> According to Hall, Kilmartin is perhaps the most prominent and influential figure of sacramental [Liturgical] theology of all the great theologians of American Jesuits, and of our time.<sup>10</sup>

As an academic theologian and priest, Kilmartin devoted much of his time and energy to liturgical, sacramental and ecumenical studies. He died before being able to complete his life's work, leaving to others the challenge of developing and systematizing the ideas he left behind.<sup>11</sup> Throughout his academic career, Kilmartin published many learned articles, book reviews, and copious notes on a variety of

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<sup>8</sup> Douglas Hedley, *Sacrifice Imagined: Violence, Atonement, and the Sacred*, 1 ed. (London/New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West* ed. Robert J. Daly (The Liturgical Press, 2004), xix.

<sup>10</sup> Jerome M. Hall, *We Have the Mind of Christ: The Holy Spirit and Liturgical Memory in the Thought of Edward J. Kilmartin* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2001), xiii.

<sup>11</sup> Michael A. Fahey, "In Memoriam: Edward Kilmartin, S.J. (1923-1994)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 61, no. (1995), 5-35.

theological topics, all of which address the issue of Eucharistic sacrifice. Yet, it was only towards the end of his life that the rough contours of a systematic approach to this issue began to take shape with his development of the Trinitarian model, which was largely inspired by the theology of David Coffey. Daly, who edited Kilmartin's posthumously published book, *The Eucharist in the West*, acknowledged that while the book contained all the basic, necessary ingredients to make it a systematic work on the Eucharist, much of its content had to be formulated and reconstituted from the notes that Kilmartin had left on his computer. Although critical of Kilmartin's tendency to "move on quickly" from point to point, sometimes without giving full consideration to his interpretations, Daly recognized that this was explicable and understandable given Kilmartin's knowledge that his time was running out.<sup>12</sup> And this proved to be the case. Kilmartin did not live to complete his work. Daly deserves applause for putting Kilmartin's thoughts together.

Several scholars have studied or followed the work and the ideas of Kilmartin and their theological relevance on the basis of his numerous and prolific writings. However, none of them has systematically dealt with the issue of Eucharistic sacrifice. Daly, Hall, and Hahnenberg have used Kilmartin's writings as an entry point in their efforts to know more about the person and the works of Kilmartin and their theological significance. However, one of the problems with which all these scholars are confronted and with which I will also have to cope, is that Kilmartin began to present his systematic work on Eucharistic sacrifice only towards the end of his life and only in outline. Much of what Kilmartin thought must be deduced from his earlier publications; thus, we are trying to "make explicit what Kilmartin left implied," systematizing and giving coherency to his thoughts via scattered materials.<sup>13</sup> Thus, everyone who is interested in Kilmartin's systematic thoughts on the Eucharist and the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice is constrained by the fact that available material is scattered and not totally systematically developed. According to Hahnenberg, Kilmartin "rarely made explicit the theological assumptions behind his arguments, nor did he explain the relationship of his conclusions...[on ministry] to his larger theological project."<sup>14</sup>

Hahnenberg's work on ministry and priesthood is largely inspired by Kilmartin's vision. Hahnenberg sought to bring about a kind of constructive theology of the priesthood, basing his direct treatment of the Church office within the context of the larger theological project. However, he focused only on the notion of priesthood in Kilmartin's theology.

Jerome K. Hall, a liturgical theologian, wrote *We Have the Mind of Christ*, originally his doctoral dissertation, primarily on Kilmartin's work.<sup>15</sup> Hall focussed upon one particular thought: "the relationship between Jesus' historical deeds and the liturgical

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<sup>12</sup> According to Daly, Kilmartin knew that "his time was short." Cf. Edward Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, ed. Robert J. Daly (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1998), xv.

<sup>13</sup> Edward P. Hahnenberg, "The Ministerial Priesthood and Liturgical Anamnesis in the Thoughts of Edward J. Kilmartin, S.J.," *Theological Studies* 66, no. (2005), 254.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

<sup>15</sup> Hall also wrote a few articles on the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist in which – by referring back to the theology of Divine self-communication of the importance of the Eucharistic Prayer of the Church, its role and functions – he echoed the same concept and method applied by Kilmartin in his work. Cf. Jerome Hall, "Remembering. We Offer: Sacrifice in the Roman Eucharistic Prayer," *Liturgical Ministry* 18, no. 2, spring (2009).

celebration.”<sup>16</sup> Hall puts great emphasis upon the influential figures behind Kilmartin’s theology and most of the first part of his book deals with Odo Casel (1886-1948), an influential figure in Kilmartin’s works. Hall’s focus was to unveil the ‘motifs’ behind Kilmartin’s works, so that he could answer in depth some of the questions that Kilmartin himself researched, such as that of the presence of Christ in the liturgical celebration. It is true that Hall, in pondering the thought of Kilmartin, recognizes the pneumatological aspect in Kilmartin’s theology. However, his analysis does not say much about the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice in depth. Hence, he, too, fails to make it clear what Kilmartin left incomplete, especially with regard to the integrity of the Trinitarian vision of sacrifice. Moreover, when Kilmartin articulated his theology of sacrifice, he kept in mind the perspectives of the members of the ecumenical community and the controversies within the Church. Hall, however, does not investigate this issue. More importantly, Hall does not mention Cesare Giraudo (1941-), another significant theologian behind Kilmartin’s work. Finally, some reviewers have expressed disappointment with Hall’s interpretation of Kilmartin, which they think does not include a pastoral perspective, in spite of the fact that Kilmartin himself had kept the pastoral motif as an essential part of his ecumenical views.<sup>17</sup>

Another significant theologian who has written extensively about Kilmartin is Daly, who even said in his recent work, “I had sensed that getting Kilmartin’s last work published would end up being more important than the implementation of my own research plans.”<sup>18</sup> Daly has written several books and many relevant articles on Eucharistic sacrifice and is considered to be an expert of the subject, even by Kilmartin himself. In these works, Daly lauds Kilmartin as a remarkable scholar whose single-mindedness comprehended the centre and substance of Eucharistic theology. From reading Daly’s writings, one can understand the focus of his research: he is trying to develop a central point of the Christian mystery of Eucharistic sacrifice left incomplete by Kilmartin. His book, *Sacrifice Unveiled*, is a compilation of his [Daly’s] own work, from the earliest to the most recent, reflecting on what Kilmartin left behind. It is in this book that Daly comprehensively proposes the essence of Kilmartin’s Trinitarian theology of sacrifice. It is the voice of Kilmartin that Daly echoes correlating the sacrifice of Christ and the sacrifice of a Christian. The essence of selfless love, he concludes, fundamentally unites God and humans in sacraments. It is only through the Trinitarian characteristics that a sacrifice becomes real and visible in the life of a Christian, Daly concludes, underscoring, like Kilmartin, the importance of the early Christian Eucharistic Prayers.<sup>19</sup> While summarizing the issues and controversies concerning Eucharistic sacrifice from Kilmartin’s perspective, he, like Kilmartin, also focuses upon the elaboration of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice. While doing so, Daly offers well-balanced evidence from historical theology, discussing in depth a variety of theological perspectives that were developed by Kilmartin on the basis of historical, liturgical, Eucharistic, constructive, biblical, and patristic theology. Daly reviews the Eucharistic theology of Kilmartin in

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<sup>16</sup> Hall, *We Have the Mind of Christ*, xiii.

<sup>17</sup> Joyce Ann Zimmerman, "Review of *We Have the Mind of Christ: The Holy Spirit and Liturgical Memory in the Thought of Edward J. Kilmartin* by Jerome Hall," *Liturgical Ministry* 11, no. Summer (2002), 155.

<sup>18</sup> Robert J. Daly, *Sacrifice Unveiled: The True Meaning of Christian Sacrifice* (London: T&T Clark, 2009), xv.

<sup>19</sup> Hereafter, Eucharistic Prayers will be abbreviated as EPs.

depth, repeatedly arguing for the Trinitarian view of sacrifice. However, with Daly's limitations, Kilmartin's Trinitarian model of the Eucharist as an authentic sacrifice still allows for a systematic reconstruction, making explicit what remains implicit and incomplete in his works. In his work, Daly seems to miss an important aspect so central for Kilmartin's outlining of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice: David Coffey and his bestowal model. Daly did not take into consideration the importance Coffey's work and views had for Kilmartin's theology.

In this dissertation, I will undertake descriptive as well as analytic research work, exposing the richness of the systematic concepts traced throughout the writings of Kilmartin, which can help to develop a comprehensive understanding of what authentic Christian sacrifice is in terms of Kilmartin's Trinitarian theology. I will attempt to systematically reconstruct Kilmartin's Eucharistic theology on the basis of the Trinitarian model of sacrifice as it had taken shape at the end of his life while integrating also Kilmartin's early works.

In view of the problems mentioned with regard to Kilmartin's own work, as well as the lacunae that still exists in the scholarly publications dealing with his work, this dissertation focuses on the central question: *How did Kilmartin develop his views on the "authentic" model of Eucharistic sacrifice within the framework of his Trinitarian theology, and how can the various theological insights he developed be systematized within this framework?*

To produce the required results, the dissertation will also address other questions that are deeply connected to the main question above. What does the term 'sacrifice' mean? What are the religious or anthropological meanings associated with the term sacrifice? How does the Church understand the Eucharistic sacrifice in its own context despite the controversies merged with it? What are the possible interpretations that Kilmartin offered towards an authentic meaning of sacrifice?

The methodology of this study will be confined to an analytical review of the works of Kilmartin, and the works of other relevant authors. While Kilmartin demonstrated not only a remarkable facility with his native language of English but also with several other European languages, this study is limited by the researcher's personal language skills; thus, works in European languages other than English reviewed by Kilmartin are perforce studied to a lesser degree. Despite these linguistic challenges, I have tried to understand some useful and important materials using their translated pages, citing them with the original reference as they appear in Kilmartin's or other authors' works.

In order to investigate and find satisfactory answers to the questions I have posed, the dissertation is divided into three chapters. In the first chapter, we will examine some preliminary questions that arise when one attempts to use the term 'sacrifice'. Thus, we shall first deal with anthropological understandings of religious sacrifice. We then move on to the interpretations provided by the Catholic Church and Catholic theologians regarding Eucharistic sacrifice since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The study of this is important because it constitutes the background of Kilmartin's own Eucharistic theology.



The second chapter will offer a chronological survey of Kilmartin's works and a systematic account of his basic theological concepts. It will begin with a brief biographical sketch of Kilmartin, his education, and the start of his theological studies. The investigation will delve into the motives and the influences that led him to pursue his work. Having established this, we describe, chronologically, the writings of Kilmartin in general. This will provide the reader with some useful information about the literature Kilmartin himself was researching, and how he used various perspectives in his theology. Having done this, we shall proceed to offer an analytical survey of Kilmartin's basic theological views, which concern Trinity, Christology, anthropology, pneumatology, ministry, and liturgy, underpinning how they are interrelated. This survey will yield the systematic-theological background for the analysis of Kilmartin's Trinitarian model of Eucharistic sacrifice in chapter three.

The third chapter is the heart of the present study. The focus will be on unveiling Kilmartin's vision of what authentic sacrifice really is. This chapter is primarily devoted to the systematic elaboration of his work on sacrifice.

Having outlined in detail the background to his work and thought in chapters one and two, we will be better prepared, in chapter three, to enter into the heart of the investigation: the definition and systematic analysis of Kilmartin's Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice. We shall first deal briefly with analysing some of the issues Kilmartin wrestled with in the Eucharistic theology of the Church and why he undertook pains to systematically outline the Trinitarian model of sacrifice. Then we shall move on to studying the methodology Kilmartin followed to solve the issues that permeate the authentic view of sacrifice in the light of the controversies of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the possible alternatives he sets before us. Since a key element in his methodology involves the search of the meaning of sacrifice in the early Eucharistic Prayers, there is, then, a need for a careful inquiry into these prayers as analysed by Kilmartin. Having presented Kilmartin's methodological frameworks, I shall then move on to discuss the three basic elements in the definition of authentic sacrifice in depth, bringing together all themes that are previously discussed. In doing so, it will also become clear that sacrifice, in the Trinitarian language, is particularly relevant and meaningful to those who devote themselves to experiencing Christ in their selfless love towards each other.

## CHAPTER ONE

# ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORIES AND CHRISTIAN THEOLOGIES OF SACRIFICE

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to gain more insight into the phenomenon of sacrifice. We will do this by considering sacrifice from an anthropological perspective, and by looking at the theological debates about sacrifice that have been taking place since the Reformation and up until the time that Kilmartin began his work. Kilmartin was very concerned with the theological debates about sacrifice that came out of the Reformation and Trent and criticized the concept of sacrifice that was developed in that time, which became dominant in Catholic theology. Kilmartin was also highly critical of the various anthropological views. In contrast with the prevailing anthropological and theological concepts of sacrifice, he tried to rediscover what he thought was the original and authentic model of Christian sacrifice.

We shall start with a general survey of anthropological theories about sacrifice which have emerged since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Since consideration of all the many existing theories is impractical, I have narrowed my focus to those theories which have been most influential. The review of the phenomenon of sacrifice as understood in the field of anthropology of religion will deal with theories about the practice, purpose, and function of sacrifice. Beginning with anthropological theories of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, I shall sketch the development of the theories of sacrifice up to the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when Kilmartin began his theological work. In the second part of this chapter, I will explore several major 16<sup>th</sup>-century theological discussions about the Mass as a sacrifice in Western Europe and their aftermath, and discuss two 20<sup>th</sup>-century Catholic theologians, viz. Anscar Vonier (1875-1938) and Casel. Their work has been seminal for the renewal of Eucharistic theology, including Kilmartin's theology, and, prior to Kilmartin, they tried to find solutions for theological problems associated with the post-Tridentine view on the Mass as a sacrifice.

## 1.1 ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORIES OF SACRIFICE

Since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the concept of sacrifice has played a significant role in anthropological theory.<sup>1</sup> There has been much interest in the notion of sacrifice and

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<sup>1</sup> According to Ivan Strenski, the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries mark the "historically-conditioned" religious constructions of sacrifice. Cf. Ivan Strenski, *Theology and the First Theory of Sacrifice* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 7. For the review of anthropological theories of sacrifice, I have made use of a number of secondary sources but have verified the most important quotations in the primary sources. See for an overview: Joseph Henninger, "Sacrifice", in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Lindsay Jones (Michigan: Thomson Gale, 2005); Maria-Zoe Petropoulou, *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion, Judaism and Christianity, 100 BC-AD 200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Daniel L. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Gary A. Anderson, "Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings", in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 870-886; and Kathryn McClymond, "Fascination of Sacrifice", in *Studies in*

many theories have been developed about the character, the meaning, and the functions of sacrifice. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, anthropologists increasingly began to consider religion beyond the West, becoming aware of sacrificial practices and actions that did not fit in with the current 'theological paradigm' of sacrifice. Fresh theories were introduced in order to engage better with non-Christian and non-Jewish sacrificial concepts and practices, particularly within the realm of an anthropological understanding of religions. Moreover, many began to apply an anthropological framework also to the historical development of Judaism and Christianity. I shall present the leading scholars and theories developed by them. These include: the 'Gift Theory' of Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917); the 'Meal Theory' of William Robertson Smith (1846-1894); Sir James George Frazer (1854-1941) and his 'Totemist Theory of Sacrifice'; the 'Mediation Theory' of sacrifice by Henri Hubert (1872-1927) and Marcel Mauss (1872-1950);<sup>2</sup> the approach of Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890-1950) who focused on the magical dimension; the view of sacrifice by E.E. Evans-Pritchard (1902-1973), which was strongly based upon the sacrificial practices of the *Nuer* community; and, finally, René Girard's [1923-2015] 'Scapegoat Mechanism Theory'. It is to be noted here that Girard's theory falls more under the category of philosophy than anthropology.

Some modern day studies have sought to reduce the significance of sacrifice. For example, Marcel Detienne views ancient Greek sacrifice purely in terms of food sharing of meals in a political and economical context.<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith similarly diminishes the value of sacrifice, viewing it as something related to the imagination of the particular author writing on the subject.<sup>4</sup> However, according to many other anthropologists, such as Paschal Bouyer<sup>5</sup> and Roger Keesing,<sup>6</sup> performing sacrifices continues to remain central to many religions. In spite of the effort to minimize the importance of the practice of sacrifice by the authors mentioned, many theories have been developed concerning sacrifice. All of the theories above have maintained themselves, in one form or the other to the present day. They continue being discussed and they help us to get a clearer idea of the complexity of the theme which is at the centre of Kilmartin's research.

With this backdrop in place, we move on to our analysis of the general notion of sacrifice from an anthropological perspective.

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*Modernity: Community, Ritual, Identity: From Nationalism and Nonviolence to Health Care and Harry Potter: Studies in Theology and Religion* Edited by Jan Willen Van Henten, ed. Joachim Duyndam, Anne-Marie Korte, and Marcel Poorthuis (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017), 327-333.

<sup>2</sup> John Milbank, "Stories of Sacrifice," *Cantagion* 2, no. 1 (1995), 87.

<sup>3</sup> Marcel Detienne, *Culinary Practices and the Spirit of Sacrifice* ed. Marcel Detienne and J.P. Vernant. *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 3.

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith, *The Domestication of Sacrifice*, *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2004), 145-160.

<sup>5</sup> Paschal Boyer, *Religion Explained: The Evolutionary Origins of Religious Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> Roger Keesing, *Kwaio Religion: The Living and the Dead in a Solomon Island Community* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

### 1.1.1 THE 'GIFT' THEORY OF SACRIFICE

The 'gift' theory, considered to be the oldest theory of sacrifice, was first developed by the 19th-century theorist Sir Edward Burnett Tylor.<sup>7</sup> Tylor emphasises the aspect of self-interest in sacrifice: favour being won through gift (bribe).<sup>8</sup> For Tylor, sacrifice originally involved a gift given to the gods in expectation of favour in return, the logic of *do ut des*, "I give so that you might give."<sup>9</sup> According to this theory, sacrifice has the power to change the relationship between God and human beings. Just as human beings exchange gifts with one another in order to win one another over, so, too, human beings attempt to win the gods over for themselves through gifts. Commenting on Tylor, Stephen Finlan explains sacrifice with a weaker member of a community giving a gift to the stronger member, who in return is obliged to offer favour since he/she has accepted the gift.<sup>10</sup> By offering a gift, Tylor concludes, the believer seeks to ingratiate oneself with a divine being, from whom one anticipates something in return.

The theory of sacrifice as gift or bribe continued to be "operative" until another concept in relation to its purpose evolved.<sup>11</sup> Sacrifice became an act of homage. Consequently, the concept of receiving or even hoping for favours became nonessential.<sup>12</sup> Tylor contends that the underlying motive for offering sacrificial gifts is the idea of honouring God and being grateful. At a later stage, once again, the meaning of sacrifice passed into self-abnegation according to which the gift lies purely in the self-renunciation of the giver who offers oneself more fully.<sup>13</sup>

Tylor's interpretation of sacrifice indicates that he approached the subject based on an evolutionary framework. Sacrifice, for him, has evolved through various stages – from gift giving to homage and then to self-abnegation.

Although elements of Tylor's theory of gift made an important contribution to later analyses of the sacrificial world, it leaves unexplained such phenomena as sacrificial gifts, which are entirely or even partially consumed by believers.<sup>14</sup> Tylor's hypothesis further fails to provide deeper analysis of phenomena such as the exact methods by which the sacrificial gift is eaten, or to explain occasions where nothing material appears to have been sacrificed to divine beings, i.e. gifts which are offered in a

<sup>7</sup> For a greater evaluation of Tylor cf. Edward Burnett Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, 11 ed, 2 vols. (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1871), cf. vol. 1 & 2.

<sup>8</sup> Henninger, "Sacrifice", 8002; also Jan van Baal, "Offering, Sacrifice and Gift," *Numen* 23, no. 3 (1976), 162. Van Baal views Tylor's concept of 'gift' as 'bribe' from human being's point of view. Cf. page 163.

<sup>9</sup> Edward Burnett Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion Language, Art, and Custom*, 4th Revised ed, 2 vols, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1903), 375.

<sup>10</sup> Stephen Finlan, *The Background and Contents of Paul's Cultic Atonement Metaphors* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 13. Cf. Chapter One (1.1) "Theories of Sacrifice."

<sup>11</sup> Henninger, "Sacrifice", 8002.

<sup>12</sup> Dennis King Keenan, *The Question of Sacrifice* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2005), 14. Also cf. Henri Hubert, Marcel Mauss, and W.D. Halls, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, New ed. (Chicago: Chicago University, 1981), 2.

<sup>13</sup> Keenan, *The Question of Sacrifice*, 14.

<sup>14</sup> Robert L. Faherty, "Sacrifice", in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2002), 791-798.

spiritual rather than material form.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, Tylor's theory seems to suggest that all divine beings to whom the gifts are offered are akin to human beings from whom favour can be received. Consequently, his theory has the tendency to reduce a divine being to a mere human being.<sup>16</sup>

Some authors, like Douglas Hedley have criticized the *gift* theory, stating that "the core paradigm of sacrifice in Tylor is utilitarian" in the sense that God is used by the sacrificer in order to procure a favour.<sup>17</sup> Others, such as Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, have rejected the idea of sacrifice as gift proposed by Tylor because of the theory's mechanistic character.<sup>18</sup> On the one hand, they admit that Tylor's proposal perfectly describes the stages of what they call the 'moral development' of the idea of sacrifice. Nonetheless, in their analysis, what Tylor fails to afford is a description of its 'mechanism' or process.

### 1.1.2 THE 'MEAL' THEORY OF SACRIFICE

Robertson Smith, a scholar of Biblical literature and Semitic cultures, developed a different theory of sacrifice.<sup>19</sup> When he initially developed his view of sacrifice, the *gift theory* as proposed by Tylor dominated the anthropological studies of the time.<sup>20</sup> Robertson Smith, on the contrary, argued that primitive sacrifice, especially early Semitic sacrifice, culminates in a meal in which the divine being and his devotees feasted together, and this observation constituted the basis of his *meal theory*. The formulation of his view was influenced by the theory of *totemism*.<sup>21</sup> *Totemism* represents a belief in a mystical rapport between a group of people and a non-human species. This rapport is established during a communal meal of their *totem* animal, which the participants believe in some way makes real their social bonds as well as their connection to the god to whom the *totem* animal is linked. Influenced by this theory, Robertson Smith points to two relevant elements of the sacrificial ceremony on which *gift theory* failed to shed light. Firstly, a sacrifice was initially considered a communal meal. Secondly, the meal was not only consumed by the believers, but also by the divine being to whom it was presented.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Royden Keith Yerkes, *Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religions and Early Judaism* (New York: Scribner, 1952), ix.

<sup>16</sup> Reprint Edward Burnett Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, vol. II (Whitefish: Kessinger, 2010), 328.

<sup>17</sup> Douglas Hedley, "Sacrifice," in *The Oxford Handbook of Theology and Modern European Thought*, ed. Nicholas Adams, George Pattison, and Graham Ward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 351. Also cf. Douglas Hedley, *Sacrifice Imagined: Violence, Atonement, and the Sacred*, 1 ed. (London/New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011), 5.

<sup>18</sup> Hubert, Mauss, and Halls, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, 2. Also cf. Henninger, "Sacrifice," 8003.

<sup>19</sup> Arthur Julius Nelson, "The Nature and Significance of the Ceremony of Sacrifice, According to Hubert and Mauss (Continued)," *The Open Court* 1926, no. 1, Article 3 (1926), 34.

<sup>20</sup> T.O. Beidelman, *W. Robertson Smith and the Sociological Study of Religion, with a Foreword by E.E. Evans-Pritchard* (London and Chicago: University of Chicago, 1974), 53-61.

<sup>21</sup> The term '*totemism*' comes from a word used by the Ojibway people of North America and Canada. Cf. Brian Morris, *Anthropological Studies of Religion: An Introductory Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 270.

<sup>22</sup> William Robertson Smith, *Sacrifice*, 9 ed. Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 21 (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1886), 133.

Robertson Smith understands sacrifice first and foremost as an act of unification when he writes, "the leading idea in the animal sacrifices of the Semites, as we shall see by and by, was not that of a gift made over to God, but of an act of communion, in which the God and his worshippers unite by partaking together of the flesh and blood of a sacred victim."<sup>23</sup> For him, sacrifice is not gift, or homage, or covenant, or reparation, or atonement. Rather, sacrifice is communion, an activity of common fellowship. Fellowship has two dimensions: fellowship with God and fellowship with fellow human beings. Thus, sacrifice for Robertson Smith is a way to experience the presence of God present in each of us through the common meal that is being consumed.<sup>24</sup> Robertson Smith's argument draws attention to the primordial idea of blood-kinship involving human beings, beasts, and God. The eating of the flesh, along with the blood of the animal offered, fortifies the affinity between God and the believers, and in so doing, encourages a benevolent sentiment in God, which, in turn, moves Him to offer his protection.<sup>25</sup> The ideas of gift, tribute, covenant, expiation, and propitiation, according to Robertson Smith, are either much later developments or, in the event that they were found in the most ancient kinds of sacrifice, at most secondary or merely incipient elements.<sup>26</sup>

Like Tylor's theory, Robertson Smith's theory involved an evolutionary view of the development of humanity and religion. An important part of the evolution is that the whole victim was initially eaten by the entire community who ate its meat and drank its blood. As time went on, the people realized that the victim was too powerful to be eaten by themselves. Eventually, the sacrificial animal was reserved for the religious specialist – the priests who ate part of it while they sprinkled the victim's blood over the people. Finally, the whole victim was burned, destroyed as a holocaust.<sup>27</sup>

Scholars such as Evans-Pritchard later criticized the theory of Robertson Smith, particularly arguing against his conclusions on the social function of sacrifice,<sup>28</sup> stating that "the evidence for this theory ... is negligible."<sup>29</sup> Evans-Pritchard also suggested that Robertson Smith had misled Emile Durkheim, who had closely followed his ideas. When Hubert and Mauss, a decade later, developed their own theory of sacrifice in their well-known *Essai sur la Nature et la Fonction du Sacrifice*

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<sup>23</sup> William Robertson Smith, *Sacrifice: Preliminary Survey* ed. Charles E. Carter, Charles Edward Carter, and Carol L. Meyers, *Community, Identity, and Ideology: Social Science Approaches to the Hebrew Bible*, vol. 6 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 53. Also cf. George Buchanan Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament: Its Theory and Practice* (New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1971), 1.

<sup>24</sup> Jill Robbins, "Sacrifice", in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 289.

<sup>25</sup> Edwin Hatch, "Sacrifice," in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information*, ed. Hugh Chisholm (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 981.

<sup>26</sup> Jeffrey Carter, *Understanding Religious Sacrifice: A Reader Controversies in the Study of Religion* (London: Continuum, 2003), 194.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>28</sup> E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Neuer Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 248. For a complete review of Evans-Pritchard's work, cf. Luc de Heusch, *Sacrifice in Africa: A Structuralist Approach* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

<sup>29</sup> E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 51-52.

(1899), they began with a short evaluation of Robertson Smith's theory.<sup>30</sup> They were critical of Robertson Smith's claims with regard to the historical evolution he suggested, but, according to Hubert and Mauss, "Robertson Smith's error was above all one of method. Instead of analysing in its original complexity the Semitic ritual system, he set about classifying the facts genealogically, in accordance with the analogical connections that he believed he saw between them."<sup>31</sup> In spite of the alleged inadequacy of his methods, which were exposed to extensive criticism,<sup>32</sup> many elements of Robertson Smith's theory continue to remain influential among biblical scholars.<sup>33</sup> His theory also had a particularly deep effect on religious studies of other faiths. His work would influence scholars such as Salomon Reinach and especially the Durkheimians, though they had reservations about some of his ideas.<sup>34</sup>

### 1.1.3 FRAZER'S 'TOTEMIST' THEORY OF SACRIFICE

Frazer's work was influenced by Robertson Smith. In his book, *The Golden Bough*, Frazer developed Robertson Smith's idea of ritual sacrifice of the divine *totem* into a new theory. The two scholars had studied together at Cambridge and were friends.<sup>35</sup> They parted ways, however, over arguments on issues they were studying.<sup>36</sup> Frazer's proposal of sacrifice was more utilitarian; he understood sacrifice as a strategy which allowed believers to absorb the qualities of a god or goddess.<sup>37</sup>

Frazer's view of sacrifice is related to *totemism*. For Frazer, "*Totemism* is ... both a religious and a social system. In its religious aspect it consists of relations of mutual respect between a man and his *totem*; in its social aspect it consists of relations of the clansmen to each other and to men of other clans."<sup>38</sup> Frazer proposed the idea that *totemism* is "expressly devised for the purpose of procuring a plentiful supply of food, water, sunshine, wood etc."<sup>39</sup> Frazer's theory further put forward the idea that sacrifice is closely related to magical practices in which a ritual slaughtering is carried out, with the intent of renewing the friendship with that *totem* or god.<sup>40</sup> For magic to

<sup>30</sup> Hubert, Mauss, and Halls, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*. For the original, cf. Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice*, L'année Sociologique, vol. II (1899), 29-138.

<sup>31</sup> Hubert, Mauss, and Halls, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, 7.

<sup>32</sup> Beidelman, W. *Robertson Smith and the Sociological Study of Religion*, with a Foreword by E.E. Evans-Pritchard, 28-68; B.A. Levine, *Prolegomenon* ed. G.B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament: Its Theory and Practice* (New York: Library of Biblical Studies, 1971), xxiii-xxx. Also cf. the text of criticism by Evans-Pritchard, *Neuer Religion*; Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion*, 51-52.

<sup>33</sup> Robert John Thompson, *Penitence and Sacrifice in the Early Israel Outside the Levitical Law: An Examination of the Fellowship Theory of Early Israelite Sacrifice with a Foreword by H.H. Rowley* (Netherlands: Brill Archive, 1963), 12-18.

<sup>34</sup> Strenski, *Theology and the First Theory of Sacrifice*, 107-108.

<sup>35</sup> Adam Kuper, *The Reinvention of Primitive Society: Transformations of a Myth*, 2 ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), 91-92. Also cf. Robert Ackerman, *J.G. Frazer: His Life and Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1.

<sup>36</sup> Susan L. Mizruchi, *The Science of Sacrifice: American Literature and Modern Social Theory* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 67.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> James George Frazer, *Marriage and Worship in Early Societies: A Treatise on Totemism & Exogamy*, 4 vols, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1986), 4.

<sup>39</sup> Taken from Ackerman, *J.G. Frazer: His Life and Work*, 155. Also cf. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion*, 34-39.

<sup>40</sup> Keenan, *The Question of Sacrifice*, 16.

occur, proper rituals must be completed. He contended that the *totemist* performing a sacrifice did so in order to multiply the species of the animal or fruit being offered, so as to guarantee an abundant supply of food.<sup>41</sup> In his view, many primitive cultures believed that when one consumed a certain animal, fruit, or plant one could absorb the virtues or vices of the god associated with it. Frazer also believed some sacrifices were propitiatory, an expression of human fears and aspirations, and others were forms of human-divine communion.<sup>42</sup>

Knowing that human beings were sacrificed on many occasions in the ancient world, Frazer argued that, initially, human sacrifices were preferred over animal sacrifices because human beings were considered invaluable to the deities, and, hence, a better gift. Over time, the religious rites within the society of the primordial man began to change and with this came the substitution of animals in the place of human beings.<sup>43</sup> Frazer also contends that the spirit of a god, contained within humans, fruits, and animals, if perceived to be weakening through age, would be slaughtered by believers in order to ensure that a much stronger descendant might impregnate the earth with new life. This belief was so strong even kings were sacrificed for the sake of maintaining the fertility of human beings, especially women, beasts, and even fields.<sup>44</sup> Frazer refers to African kings who thought they were immortal, human incarnations of the divine god.<sup>45</sup> Those human beings who gave themselves in sacrifice were thought to be the agents of god of their respective tribes. The yearly sacrifice of these sacrificed 'gods' played an important role in the Semitic religion, according to Frazer. This sacrificial aspect remained traceable, as history progressed, in the substitution of an inanimate ersatz for instance an effigy in the place of a living person. Some human sacrifices were clearly carried out for the benefit of the fertility of the land and community.<sup>46</sup> A sacrifice, therefore, as proposed by Frazer, is a community defence-mechanism against the disasters of death, and a symbolic release of the spirit of prosperity and fertility.<sup>47</sup>

Early on, Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) considered Frazer's theories "entirely flawed."<sup>48</sup> Frazer's work was described as "purely descriptive, making no effort to understand or explain the most fundamental aspects of *totemism*."<sup>49</sup> Frazer's definition of sacrifice as emerging from magical practices was also strongly criticised in the early works of Mauss and Hubert as insufficient. They claimed further that Frazer's proposal of the universality of *totemism* lacked adequate proof.<sup>50</sup> Other 20<sup>th</sup>-

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<sup>41</sup> Warren Schmaus, *Durkheim's Philosophy of Science and the Sociology of Knowledge: Creating an Intellectual Niche* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), 194. Durkheim in fact criticized Frazer's definition of religion as "not sufficiently inclusive," cf. page 195.

<sup>42</sup> Mizuchi, *The Science of Sacrifice: American Literature and Modern Social Theory*, 67.

<sup>43</sup> James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (New York: Avenel Books, 1981), cf. the section Dionysus.

<sup>44</sup> Ackerman, J.G. *Frazer: His Life and Work*, 167.

<sup>45</sup> Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, cf. Chapter 24:2.

<sup>46</sup> James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, II vols, vol. I (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), 239-240.

<sup>47</sup> Nelson, "The Nature and Significance of the Ceremony of Sacrifice, According to Hubert and Mauss (Continued)," 33.

<sup>48</sup> Robert J. Thornton and Peter Skalnik, *The Early Writings of Bronislaw Malinowski* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 42.

<sup>49</sup> Robert Alun Jones, *Emile Durkheim: An Introduction to Four Major Works* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1986), 6.

<sup>50</sup> Hubert, Mauss, and Halls, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, 5.



century scholars concurred with Mauss and Hubert. In the 1980s, Edmund Leach (1910-1989) published a series of critical evaluations on *The Golden Bough* and dismissed Frazer as nothing more than "an assiduous literary mole."<sup>51</sup> Frazer's view of human cultural development from magic to religion and finally science also came under heavy criticism from Mary Douglas (1921-2007) who accused him of being condescending and theoretically invalid.<sup>52</sup> Scholars like Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951) portrayed Frazer as more savage than the people he analyzed.<sup>53</sup>

### 1.1.4 THE 'MEDIATION' THEORY OF SACRIFICE BY HUBERT AND MAUSS

The 19<sup>th</sup>-century French ethnologists and sociologists Hubert and Mauss first published their study on sacrifice in the book *Essai sur la Nature et la Fonction du Sacrifice* in the year 1898. It remains significant to this day. According to Louis Dumont (1911-1998), the work of Hubert and Mauss is "no museum piece." The ideas it contains continue to remain dominant and "fresh."<sup>54</sup> Some scholars, for example, Claude Lévi-Strauss<sup>55</sup> and George Bataille,<sup>56</sup> considered Hubert and Mauss's work on sacrifice the single most influential theory in the anthropology and sociology of religion.<sup>57</sup> Their theory is thought to be "a first step away from evolutionism."<sup>58</sup>

Finlan calls Hubert and Mauss's theory a "communication theory," since it claims that the victim mediates or communicates the sacred power.<sup>59</sup> One can also call it a 'mediation theory' because the victim that is sacrificed functions as a sort of medium between the sacred and the profane worlds.

Hubert and Mauss use the word 'sacrifice' or the word 'consecration' in its etymological sense, 'to make sacred'.<sup>60</sup> Sacrifice is offered in order to increase and improve communication between the sacred and the profane, through the mediation of a victim. What is essential to this theory is that they made a clear distinction between

<sup>51</sup> Mary Beard, "Frazer, Leach, and Virgil: The Popularity (and Unpopularity) of the Golden Bough", in *The Comparative Studies in Society and History Book Series*, ed. Aram A. Yengoyan (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 2006), 161-192; also cf. Edmund Leach, "Reflections on a Visit to Nemi: Did Frazer Get It Wrong?," *Anthropology Today* 1, no. 2 (1985), 2-3.

<sup>52</sup> Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (USA & Canada: Routledge, 2003), cf. especially the 1<sup>st</sup> chapter. Also cf. Mary Douglas, "Judgements on James Frazer," *Daedalus* 107, no. 4 (1978), 151-164.

<sup>53</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Remarks on Frazer's Golden Bough*, trans. A.C. Miles and Rush Rhees (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1979); Also cf. Yuval Lurie, *Wittgenstein on the Human Spirit: Philosophy, Literature and Politics*, Value Inquiry Book Series, vol. 248 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), 160.

<sup>54</sup> Louis Dumont, *Marcel Mauss: A Science in Becoming*, Essays on Individualism (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1986), 192.

<sup>55</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Introduction to the Work of Marcel Mauss*, trans. Felicity Baker (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987).

<sup>56</sup> William Pawlett, *George Bataille: The Sacred and Society* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016).

<sup>57</sup> Julia Meszaros and Johannes Zachhuber, *Sacrifice and Modern Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 7.

<sup>58</sup> Petropoulou, *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion*, 5.

<sup>59</sup> Finlan, *The Background and Contents of Paul's Cultic Atonement Metaphors*, 16.

<sup>60</sup> Heusch, *Sacrifice in Africa: A Structuralist Approach*, 3.

what is "sacred," something that is set apart, and something that is "profane," which is directly opposite to the sacred. They emphasised that all religious beliefs are based on this distinction. The sacred sphere is considered as a kind of life-giving power which is the "very source of life." According to Mauss and Hubert, when people are faced with difficulty in life they wish to improve their situation by interacting with this source of sacred power. Humanity makes this interaction through the medium of *sacrifice*.<sup>61</sup> Hence, sacrifice is a means of establishing the presence of the sacred, through which some kind of support is given to the one who undertakes the act of sacrifice.

Hubert and Mauss insist that sacrifice requires the idea of the 'moral person'.<sup>62</sup> Sacrifice is "a religious act which, through the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral person who accomplishes it, or that of certain objects with which he is concerned."<sup>63</sup> Hubert and Mauss make clear distinctions between the terms sacrificer, sacrificer, and sacrificed. *Sacrifier* denotes those who benefit from the sacrifice,<sup>64</sup> while the *sacrificer* is the person who performs the actual act of the sacrifice.<sup>65</sup> The sacrifice comes through the *sacrificed*, which is the victim.

Hubert and Mauss recognize two basic processes they believe to be inherent in every form of sacrifice: sacralization and desacralization. In every sacrifice, there is an encounter between the sacred and profane, which takes place through the mediation of a victim. For the profane to approach the sacred, acts of sacralization (making the profane sacred) are required.<sup>66</sup> Some sacrifices, they believe, "increase the religiosity of the sacrificer." They refer to this type as a sacrifice of "sacralization," one that transfers power from the victim that is destroyed by the sacrificer to the sacrificer and thereby increases the sanctity of the latter. This profane offering, which is now made sacred, consecrated by the act of sacralization, becomes the means of communication and communion between the sacred and the profane worlds. On the other hand, there are sacrifices that decrease the amount of sacredness. Hubert and Mauss call the process of decreasing the amount of sacredness "desacralization." In the act of "desacralization," power moves from the sacrificer to the victim.<sup>67</sup> Desacralization makes the sacred approachable by the profane.<sup>68</sup> For the sacrifice of "desacralization," they refer to the offering of first-fruits. Hubert and Mauss think that some objects are believed to be in such a state of sanctity that they must first be desecrated. Their sacredness is so powerful that some sort of "stages of desacralization" is necessary.<sup>69</sup> For instance, some products of the earth, like some fruits or cereal, need their prohibition lifted so that they can be touched and offered.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Carter, *Understanding Religious Sacrifice*, 89.

<sup>62</sup> Hubert, Mauss, and Halls, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, 9 – 10 & 13. Also cf. Mizruchi, *The Science of Sacrifice: American Literature and Modern Social Theory*, 73.

<sup>63</sup> Hubert, Mauss, and Halls, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, 13.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>65</sup> Glenn M. Schwartz, "Archaeology and Sacrifice", in *Sacred Killing: The Archaeology of Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Anne Porter and Glenn M. Schwartz (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns Inc, 2012), 2.

<sup>66</sup> Grace Harris, "Review of *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function* by Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1964," *American Anthropologist* 67, no. 1 (1965), 139-140.

<sup>67</sup> Carter, *Understanding Religious Sacrifice*, 89.

<sup>68</sup> Harris, "Review of *Sacrifice*," 139.

<sup>69</sup> Hubert, Mauss, and Halls, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, 57.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 50-60.

While the sacrificer is in the state of preliminary purification, the victim is sacrificed by the sacrificer. The act of sacrifice takes place when the sacrificer, being preliminarily prepared, enters a magic circle, and is in contact with the victim who should be without flaw. As long as the victim is still alive, even though it is in a perfect state of purification, it is not yet holy. Holiness or sacredness comes only in the moment when the act of killing or immolation takes place by the sacrificer. Thus, sacrifice is seen as a means of mediation between the sacred and profane in which the act of sacrifice alters the very nature and characteristic of the sacrificial victim, changing it from unholy to holy.<sup>71</sup> As soon as the victim is offered, perhaps by slitting the throat or by burning, a consecration occurs. The consecration comes through the death of the victim, which is now separate from the profane world and belongs to the sacred world.<sup>72</sup> The consecration, Hubert and Mauss propose, is "definitive and irrevocable." Furthermore, the consecration has another effect in so far as it modifies the moral state of the sacrificer who offers the sacrifice. The sacrifice makes the sacrificer and also the sacrificer sacred and establishes a relationship with the sacred which is the "very source of life," the "domain of divine forces."<sup>73</sup>

Sacrifice is a unitary event; it unites the community in a very particular way. After the sacrifice, while the body of the victim continues to remain in the profane world, the consecration of the victim as such brings the effects of sacrifice to the sacrificer.<sup>74</sup> The remains of the victim may then be offered to the god, further creating unity with the god, and may also be shared among sacrificers in a meal, thus generating further unity between the members of the community.<sup>75</sup>

Hubert and Mauss's theory has undergone determined criticism by some recent scholars.<sup>76</sup> According to Maurice Bloch (1939- ), "the main thrust of that criticism is that Hubert and Mauss were unjustifiably influenced by the prominence they gave to Vedic sacrifice and sacrifice as it is understood in the Judaeo-Christian tradition."<sup>77</sup> Along with others, Bloch sees an "ever-present danger" in any attempt to simplify something that is so peculiar to a particular culture and place, then attempting to build a universal theory on it. Correspondingly, for Luc de Heusch (1927-2012), this theory cannot be applied to traditions and cultures in Africa and other parts of the world. He, therefore, regards it as far from universal.<sup>78</sup> De Heusch and Marcel Detienne<sup>79</sup> accuse Hubert and Mauss's theory of "Western ethnocentrism," being based predominantly on Christian models. Nevertheless, according to Simone Ghiaroni (1981- ), Hubert's

<sup>71</sup> Nick Allen, *Using Hubert and Mauss to Think About Sacrifice* ed. Julia Meszaros and Johannes Zachhuber, *Sacrifice and Modern Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 147-162.

<sup>72</sup> Hubert, Mauss, and Halls, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, 33-35.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-13 & 95-103.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 42 & 61-62.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 42-49. Also cf. Keenan, *The Question of Sacrifice*, 17.

<sup>76</sup> Strenski criticised Hubert and Mauss's theory "for its supposed Christian and Western ethnocentrism", i.e. this theory is built upon the Christian and Western models. Cf. Strenski, *Theology and the First Theory of Sacrifice*, 15.

<sup>77</sup> Maurice Bloch, *Prey into Hunter: The Politics of Religious Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 28. Also cf. Carter, *Understanding Religious Sacrifice*, 402.

<sup>78</sup> Cited from Bloch, *Prey into Hunter: The Politics of Religious Experience*, 28. For the original work of De Heusch writings cf. Luc de Heusch, *Le Sacrifice dans les religions africaines*, Bibliothèque des sciences humaines (Paris: Gallimard, 1986).

<sup>79</sup> Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant, *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, trans. P. Wissing (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 28. For the original cf. Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec* (Paris: Gallimard, 1979).

and Mauss's theory is significant because it was the first to present a formal analysis of the "pattern of sacrifice."<sup>80</sup>

### 1.1.5 THE APPROACH OF GERARDUS VAN DER LEEUW

The 20<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch historian Gerardus van der Leeuw, in line with Mauss, proposed the idea of sacrifice as a gift which has the potency to transfer magical power. In his phenomenological studies, he suggested that sacrifice was a type of magic. In Part Three of his book, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*,<sup>81</sup> he devoted a chapter to sacrifice, using Mauss's interpretation of gift in the context of sacrifice. In his interpretation, he closely links sacrifice to religion which, for him, means the relationship with sacred power (*numen*) of the Holy.<sup>82</sup> "God", for him, is another word for "power," which results in a *de facto* equation of religion and magic. Van der Leeuw denotes this supernatural element or God as the 'Other', something which is superior. He prefers to use the Latin term *numen* (sacred power), a less personal term. This power is something "Holy."

The term 'power' as used by Van der Leeuw does not merely refer to human physical power but rather to something which can transcend natural forces. Such power is central to and necessary for human life and, therefore, human beings strive for it. In other words, by 'power' Van der Leeuw means that which is sought after by human beings, especially once they no longer simply 'accept' the life bestowed on them and begin to seek meaning in life.<sup>83</sup> Power is thus both the subject and object of religion. "The essence of all religions... is a relation to power or powers."<sup>84</sup> Sacred power has a supernatural origin. To attain such power, human beings offer sacrifice. Van der Leeuw understood sacrifice as a way to open a source of supernatural benefits for a group or community.<sup>85</sup>

Van der Leeuw proposes that a sacrifice is the offering which humans make towards the object of religion, the "Holy."<sup>86</sup> Human beings encounter the sacred power of the Holy via sacrifice. Just as gift-giving events establish a "binding force" between human beings, especially those involved in the gift giving, so, too, the gift-giving

<sup>80</sup> Simone Ghiaroni, *Sacrifice* ed. George Ritzer, The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology, vol. VIII (Malden/Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 3982.

<sup>81</sup> Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation: A Study in Phenomenology*, trans. John Evan Turner, Sir Halley Stewart Publications, vol. 1-5 (London: G.Allen & Unwin, Limited, 1938).

<sup>82</sup> Richard J. Plantinga, "An Ambivalent Relationship to the Holy: Gerardus Van der Leeuw on Religion", in *Religion in History: The Word, the Idea, the Reality*, ed. Michael Despland (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), 94- 95.

<sup>83</sup> Van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation: A Study in Phenomenology*, 679.

<sup>84</sup> Quoted from Plantinga, "An Ambivalent Relationship to the Holy: Gerardus Van der Leeuw on Religion", 94.

<sup>85</sup> Bruce G. Trigger, *Understanding Early Civilizations: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 472.

<sup>86</sup> See for Van der Leeuw's view of sacrifice in particular his *Phänomenologie der Religion* which appeared in 1933. In English it was titled 'Religion in Essence and Manifestations'. Cf. Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation: A Study in Phenomenology*, 354. Here he says that "instead of the rationalistic *do-ut-des*," [I give so that you might give], we must say, *do ut possis dare*: "I give in order that thou mayest be able to give. I give thee power that thou mayest have power, and that life may not stagnate because of any lack of potency."

between human and divine beings becomes a means of communion between them. Giving and receiving gifts not only enriches longer relationships between human beings, but also between humans and god.<sup>87</sup> While proposing that an offering or sacrifice is a gift, Van der Leeuw stresses the 'magical' effect of the gift and thereby succeeds in merging some features of the theory proposed by Mauss with Tylor's *do ut des*, stressing the magical and mystical implications of offering and sacrifice.

Van der Leeuw's view of sacrifice further elaborated the Tylorian theme of *do ut des*. Gift-giving is the most significant aspect of sacrifice, according to Van der Leeuw. A gift can be offered to a person or to a deity. Sacrifice, Van der Leeuw suggests, is a gift presented to the Holy which in return opens a link between the sacrificer and receiver. This gift must be accepted by the Holy in order to maintain the flow of power to the sacrificer. The gifts given demand a gift in return, for the gift is "powerful."<sup>88</sup> Sacrifice is centred around the "opening of a flow of blessed gifts."<sup>89</sup> Accordingly, the receiver is reinforced by the gift received. The two participants, the divine and human beings, are the donors and the receivers. Nevertheless, the principal character belongs to the gift itself and the force of energy it brings forth. Since gift-giving establishes a communion between the giver and receiver, one can perceive an understanding of sacrifice that combines gift-theory with communion-theory.

For Van der Leeuw, it is not only the gift aspect that is important, but the meal dimension is also important. Sacrifice belongs not only to individuals but also to the community. The practice of a sacrificial meal and especially consuming that meal binds the entire community. Sharing the meal with one another becomes a sign of distribution of the community's power, the power that strengthens everyone in the community, binding them more firmly to each other.<sup>90</sup> Sacrifice, in this sense, belongs to the entire community, and the community is fortified through the process of power as well as gift exchange.<sup>91</sup>

The phenomenological tradition proposed by Van der Leeuw has come under severe criticism, both by historians as well as by social scientists, for neglecting the facts of particular religions through excessively general comparisons and assumptions. In the late 1940s, a student of Van der Leeuw, Fokke Sierksma (1917-1977), in his doctoral dissertation, revolted openly against the phenomenological methods used by his "nearly adored master."<sup>92</sup> For Sierksma, "theologically, Van der Leeuw was a maverick and this lay deep in his being."<sup>93</sup> Following Sierksma, Theo Van Baaren (1912-1989) also criticised Van der Leeuw, in particular the methods he followed in his interpretation of primitive religion, as "subjective and insufficiently empirical."<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 356

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 352.

<sup>89</sup> Philip W. Goetz, ed. *Sacrifice*, 15 ed. The New Encyclopedia Britannica (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1982), 129

<sup>90</sup> Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation: A Study in Phenomenology*, 357.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 358.

<sup>92</sup> Jan G. Platvoet, *Comparing Religions: A Limitative Approach. An Analysis of Akan, Para-Creole, and Ifo-Sananda Rites and Prayers* (The Hague: Mouton, 1998), 335.

<sup>93</sup> Fokke Sierksma, *Dienaar van God en hoogleraar te Groningen* (Amsterdam: Het Wereldvenster, 1951), 41.

<sup>94</sup> Richard J. Plantinga, *Seeking the Boundaries: Gerardus Van der Leeuw on the Study and the Nature of Theology* [Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Ontario: McMaster University, 1990), 42. For the

According to the Dutch anthropologist Jan van Baal (1909-1992), Van der Leeuw's views are too much a "mixture of everything to be convincing."<sup>95</sup>

#### 1.1.6 RELIGIOUS SACRIFICE OF THE NUER ACCORDING TO EDWARD EVANS-PRITCHARD

While Van der Leeuw's phenomenological method and comparative approach did not focus on the facts of particular religions, Evans-Pritchard's works can be looked upon as an example of culturally specific field research. The 20<sup>th</sup>-century British anthropologist Evans-Pritchard did not promote a specific universal theory of sacrifice. He focuses on a specific society, the society of the *Nuer*.<sup>96</sup> The most important asset of the life of the *Nuer* is their cattle. Indeed, the *Nuer* portray all social developments and relationships in relation to their livestock. They do not raise animals for meat and milk alone, but also to sacrifice them from time to time at various rituals. These animals are the prototypical victims for religious sacrifices to such an extent that no matter what is being sacrificed in a particular religious ceremony, be it an ox, some other animal, or even vegetables, the community always refers to it as a "cow."<sup>97</sup>

According to Evans-Pritchard, the *Nuer* view human beings as dependent on a supreme god and are helpless without his aid. This god can be communicated with through prayer and sacrifice. The *Nuer* sacrifices are ultimately made to this supreme god. At the same time, Evans Pritchard also describes sacrifices made to other gods [lesser deities] and ancestors.<sup>98</sup> He views these gods and ancestors who obtain repeated sacrifices as intermediaries between the supreme god and humans. These ancestors and gods are to be regarded as hypostases, representations, or refractions of the supreme power. Evans-Pritchard stresses that any sacrifice given to them should

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original criticism by Baaren, cf. T.P. van Baaren, "De ethnologische basis van de faenomenologie van G. van der Leeuw," *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 11, no. 5 (1956-1957), 321-353.

<sup>95</sup> Jan van Baal, *Offering, Sacrifice and Gift* ed. Jeffrey Carter, *Understanding Religious Sacrifice: A Reader* (New York: Continuum, 2003), 279.

<sup>96</sup> Nuer community or the Nilotic people are cattle herders. They "live in small villages widely dispersed over the flat riverine country of the upper Nile basin in southern Sudan. The Nuer are transhumant, moving about during the dry season in search of grazing for their herds and returning to their villages during the wet season to cultivate their fields." Cf. Susan Rasmussen, "Myth and Cosmology", in *New Encyclopedia of Africa*, ed. John Middleton and Joseph C. Miller (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2008), 685. Today they are stateless and suffering genocide by Sudan government forces. Evans-Pritchard focused upon this ethnic group from Sudan and became a specialist on the peoples of the White Nile regions. He also defines the Nuer as a segmentary society. Between 1927 and 1940, he spent much of his time with this group and some others in the neighbouring countries like Congo and Kenya. Cf. Gérald Gaillard, *The Routledge Dictionary of Anthropologists*, trans. Peter James Bowman (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), cf. especially Sir Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard from pages 144-147, at 145. In his own book Evans-Pritchard acknowledged that he undertook this study of the Nuer especially at the request of the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan who financed his study. Cf. E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), cf. the preface at VII.

<sup>97</sup> E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "The Special Role of the Cattle among the Nuer," *Journal of the International African Institute* XXIII, no. 3 (1953), 181-198.

<sup>98</sup> Nancy Jay, *Throughout Your Generations Forever: Sacrifice, Religion, and Paternity* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992), 28.

be considered being given ultimately to the supreme god himself.<sup>99</sup> When praying to any of these spirits, the *Nuer* are in fact speaking to that god albeit in a particular spiritual figure or manifestation. The *Nuer* also speak to their god directly, depending on "whichever mode is most appropriate in the circumstances."<sup>100</sup>

Sacrifice is the main way by which humans address this divine being. Sacrifice in the *Nuer* community is offered for two reasons: 1) to benefit the community relationship, and 2) in response to an evil committed, distinguishing between "collective" and "personal" sacrifices.<sup>101</sup> The one which benefits the community as a whole is collective and the one benefiting an individual is personal. Evans-Pritchard uses the term "piacular" for expiatory sacrifices offered to god: "the purpose of *Nuer* piacular sacrifices is either to get rid of some present evil or to ward off something threatening evil."<sup>102</sup> Evans-Pritchard challenges the understanding of sacrifice as a form of union with the divine, suggesting that it is rather repeatedly concerned with avoiding harmful divine intervention, rather than attracting it. He argues that among the *Nuer*, private sacrifice is primarily designed to counter divinely caused misfortune.<sup>103</sup>

Evans-Pritchard's prime focus is on personal and expiatory sacrifices. The need for expiation, in his view, depends on the danger resulting from the intervention of spirits in the human world. He also contends, however, that sacrifice implies more than merely giving something away so as to bargain for a development in one's lot or paying homage to one's ancestors.<sup>104</sup>

Evans-Pritchard believes that eating the flesh of the victim of sacrifice in the *Nuer* community is not essentially part of sacrifice and therefore has no sacramental value. It has only a social significance. Moreover, when animals are killed for certain reasons, for instance, in times of famine, although they might be consecrated before killing, these may not be called a sacrifice because there is no sacramental intention in that killing, even though it may appear to be a sacrifice.<sup>105</sup>

Although well-respected in his field, Evans-Pritchard's work has been met with extensive criticism. Alasdair MacIntyre (1929- ) criticises Evans-Pritchard's research on the *Nuer* religion as "inadequate." For MacIntyre, there remains an unbridged and unbridgeable gulf between the *Nuer* logical order and the way things function in our society. He maintains that the "*Nuer* appear to fly in the face of ordinary rules of consistency and contradiction."<sup>106</sup> Evans-Pritchard argues that the *Nuer* think that their religion makes sense. However, for MacIntyre, that does not mean the *Nuer* are right. MacIntyre argues that Evans-Pritchard wrongly claims to have completely

<sup>99</sup> Justin S. Ukpong, "The Problem of God and Sacrifice in African Traditional Religion," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XIV, no. 3 (1983), 187.

<sup>100</sup> Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion*, 2, 51, 124, & 200.

<sup>101</sup> E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "The Meaning of Sacrifice among the *Nuer*," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 84, no. 1/2 (1954), 21-33.

<sup>102</sup> Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion*, 2801.

<sup>103</sup> Graham Cunningham, *Religion and Magic: Approaches and Theories*, Edinburgh University Press Series (Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 51-52.

<sup>104</sup> Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion*, 277-282.

<sup>105</sup> Evans-Pritchard, "The Special Role of the Cattle among the *Nuer*," 193-194.

<sup>106</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, "Is Understanding Religion Compatible with Believing?", in *Faith and Philosophers*, ed. John Hick (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2011), 118.

understood the *Nuer*, and their religious and sacrificial practices.<sup>107</sup> Besides MacIntyre, there are other scholars who are critical of Evans-Pritchard's theory, for example, Ivan Karp and Kent Maynard,<sup>108</sup> Kathleen Gough,<sup>109</sup> Raymond C. Kelly,<sup>110</sup> and Roy R. Grinker.<sup>111</sup> Their criticisms suggest Evans-Pritchard has neglected the social as well as historical complexities of the *Nuer* community and that some of his claims are misleading.

### 1.1.7 RENÉ GIRARD AND HIS MIMETIC THEORY

In the 1970s, René Girard proposed a new theory which is not just anthropological but can also be qualified as philosophical. According to Daly, the "Girardian theory is one of the great intellectual achievements of the late twentieth century – a comprehensive vision of the psychological, sociological, political and religious processes of sin and redemption."<sup>112</sup>

Girard's major concern is with determining the origin of violence in the world. A key concept in his thought is mimesis. The root cause of human violence lies in the fact that human beings are mimetic creatures, that is, they imitate the desires they see in others. Their desires are not actually their own; rather, they are copied from their fellow human beings. The more human beings imitate each other, the more individuals become alike, and strive for the same desires.<sup>113</sup> In that process they become opponents. Girard argues that human beings have the same desire, but their mimetic desires cannot be fulfilled at the same time. For instance, when two people desire the same article, they strive to get hold of this article by all means. This involves mimetic rivalry and this generates increasing cycles of violence, which leads to destabilization and disintegration of society. To stop this process, which is a threat to the entire society and risks ending up in total chaos, a common enemy has to be identified, which can function as a scapegoat. This enemy is held to be the cause of violence, destruction, and chaos and, therefore, has to be killed. Having found the scapegoat or the victim, those who were 'once' enemies come together and are reconciled with each other. Everyone in the community is focused on one and the same goal: the destruction of the victim that will be murdered. The scapegoat is usually selected at random, "chosen only because it is vulnerable and close at

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 119.

<sup>108</sup> Ivan Karp and Kent Maynard, "Reading the *Nuer*," *Current Anthropology* 24, no. 4 (1983), 481-503.

<sup>109</sup> Kathleen Gough, "Nuer Kinship: A Re-Examination", in *The Translation of Culture: Essays to E E Evans-Pritchard*, ed. T.O. Beidelmann (London: Tavistock, 1971), 79-121.

<sup>110</sup> Raymond Case Kelly, *The Nuer Conquest: The Structure and Development of an Expansionist System* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1985).

<sup>111</sup> Roy Richard Grinker, *Houses in the Rainforest: Ethnicity and Inequality among Farmers and Foragers in Central Africa* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).

<sup>112</sup> René Girard and James G. Williams, *The Girard Reader* ed. James G. Williams (Crossroad: Herder and Herder Book, 1996), cf. the review at the back of the book.

<sup>113</sup> René Girard, *Deceit, Desire and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure*, trans. Yvonne Freccero (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1966), 1. Here he explains how a human being imitates others. Also cf. Wolfgang Palaver, *René Girard's Mimetic Theory*, trans. Gabriel Borrud (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013), 35-36.



hand."<sup>114</sup> One will try to come up with reasons for blaming the scapegoat (temporarily).

According to Girard, the particular way cultures and civilizations begin, the manner in which people of all cultures and traditions shape themselves in a particular fashion that separates them from other beings, has a great deal to do with religion. The sacrifices made by civilizations from time to time help maintain both religion and culture. Religion is seen as a fundamental element of humankind, one which stabilizes the society: when people are fuelled by mimetic desire which leads to imminent violence, religion transfers the violent tendency onto a 'scapegoat', the sacrificial victim. Girard further maintains that there is virtually no form of violence which "cannot be described in terms of sacrifice."<sup>115</sup> For Girard, it is vital to understand the mimetic passion and the scapegoat mechanism since they are the root causes of the practices of sacrifice and of brutality and of catastrophes which emerge within all human cultures. As a consequence, Girard argues for a universal theory of sacrifice – exactly the opposite of what Evens-Pritchard did – that is to say, a proposition which affirms that all sacrifices offered within the human context have basically the one and the same implication or purpose.<sup>116</sup> He believes that the conciliatory tradition began with human sacrifices offered as scapegoats in order to calm brutal tensions within the community and to restore peace and harmony.<sup>117</sup>

The peace acquired through the sacrifice was attributed completely to the slaughtered sacrificial victim, which was assumed to have had supernatural characteristics. Thus, the scapegoat began to be conceived as a reality requiring human exaltation and veneration. Girard points out that the victim is holy. The victim would not be holy unless it is killed.<sup>118</sup> When the collective violence or "violent unanimity" disappears, a momentary peace is achieved. Subsequently, through a mythological strategy, religion may interpret the collective murder as radical and redemptive for the community. The turning point in Girard's theory is the idea that unlike in other religions where the victim of sacrifice is not completely innocent nor the society fully guilty, in Christianity, the scapegoat mechanism is fully unmasked – and, hence, rendered ineffective – because in Christ's sacrifice, the victim was fully innocent and those responsible for the sacrifice were, in fact, guilty.<sup>119</sup> In other words, according to Girard, there has been a turning point in the mimesis mechanism because there was a completely innocent victim (Christ) who voluntarily assumed his role as a scapegoat and thereby broke out of the spiral of violence.

According to Girard's mimetic theory of sacrifice, in order for the scapegoat mechanism to work properly, i.e. at the most basic level to dispel any anger and violence built up, the scapegoaters must never know that they are actually

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<sup>114</sup> René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory (London: Continuum, 2005), 2.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>116</sup> David Janzen, *The Social Meanings of Sacrifice in the Hebrew Bible: A Study of Four Writings* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 3.

<sup>117</sup> Ioan Biris, "Religious Violence and the Logic of Weak Thinking: Between R. Girard and G. Vattimo," *Journal For the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 11, no. 32 Summer (2012), 172.

<sup>118</sup> Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, 270.

<sup>119</sup> René Girard, *Violence Renounced: René Girard Biblical Studies and Peacemaking* ed. Willard M. Swartley (Telford, PA: Pandora Press, 2000), 313.

scapegoating.<sup>120</sup> The community, which is said to have been saved by the sacrifice, must never realize that the scapegoat is, in fact, a randomly chosen, innocent victim. Should the community realize this, the mechanism would not work and a further spread of violence would take place. Hence, the functioning of the scapegoat mechanism depends completely on the secrecy maintained in the community. For Girard, there is no question of Jesus' innocence. It is through this unquestioned innocence that the scapegoat mechanism, which had been used since the earliest stages of human civilization in order to restore social order, is unveiled as an injustice. It is through the death of Christ, the innocent victim, that the true nature of the scapegoat mechanism is unmasked. While mimesis had become the root cause of violence in the society, Jesus Christ calls us to "mimese" Him.<sup>121</sup> His death revealed that the cultural foundation in fact consisted of murder and lies.

One of the criticisms frequently made against Girard's theory is that he is simply a Christian apologist who tries to give Christian texts credibility within the academy and is defending evangelization in the name of Christ. For some authors, his universalist theory may simplify the data but it does not really clarify it. For instance, Girard's 'general principle' from which all the other subsequent sacrificial rituals are derived, is criticized by Walter Burkert (1931–2015). Taking his ideas from the theory of Karl Meuli (1891–1968), Burkert believes that Girard fails to distinguish the scapegoat pattern from the actual ritual sacrifice and thus, for him, this mechanism does not do justice to the concept of sacrifice.<sup>122</sup>

### 1.1.8 CONCLUSION

We have examined the idea of sacrifice through the lens of anthropology of religion. Although it is impossible to review all the theories of sacrifice in that field, our review of some of the major theories provides clues to the characteristics of sacrifice, such as its practice, purpose, and function within societies and traditions. We can conclude that the concept of 'sacrifice' has given rise to a variety of anthropological theories. Each of the theories examined has been fashionable or acceptable at various times and most of them are still influential to some degree in present-day academic research.

This overview offers sufficient material to discount claims which might attempt to justify any one particular meaning or explanation of the concept of sacrifice since sacrifice can mean many things and can be expressed in many ways. What can be understood as a sacrificial activity amongst one group of people may not be comparable to the same activity in another group. Therefore, despite many aspirations to define the term 'sacrifice', any real classification remains elusive.

The aim of this overview is not to prove that one theory is right over others, but to offer a background and context for understanding Kilmartin's view on sacrifice by describing the manifold discussions and intricate topics associated with 'sacrifice' in

<sup>120</sup> Rene Girard, "Mimesis and Violence: Perspectives in Cultural Criticism," *Berkshire Review* 14, (1979), 15.

<sup>121</sup> Rene Girard, "Violence, Difference, Sacrifice: A Conversation with Rene Girard," *Religion and Literature* 25, no. 2 (1993), 22-23.

<sup>122</sup> Walter Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," *Roman and Byzantine Studies* 7, no. 2 Summer (1966), 105-113.

anthropological research. The above discussion reveals that there does not only exist a great variety of theories, but also that sacrifice is a very complex phenomenon which entails a great number of aspects and can fulfil different functions in societies and, therefore, can be considered from different perspectives.

This being the case, it may be asked how sacrifice was conceived of in Western Christianity, especially since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and how the different positions taken on this topic relate to the anthropological theories we have examined. It turns out that several of the notions we have met before recur, and that also in Christian theology they have given rise to much debate. Two of the aspects which have proven essential to nearly all the anthropological theories discussed are the destruction of the victim and its consumption. In the Christian understanding of sacrifice, both of these motifs have been and are up for dispute. We will deal, in the following section, with the concept of sacrifice as understood within Western Christianity since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in particular with regard to the Eucharist. Having pointed out the complexity of the concept of sacrifice, from both an anthropological and theological perspective, we will be in a better position to understand and assess Kilmartin's search for a Christian concept of authentic sacrifice, which we will deal with in the following chapters.

## 1.2 THEOLOGICAL VIEWS OF SACRIFICE SINCE THE 16TH CENTURY

Besides the difficulties of comparing and evaluating the different anthropological perspectives, complications in assessing its meaning also arise due to divergences within Christianity regarding the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist. Although the Calvary event as a whole is generally understood as a sacrifice within Christianity, its link with the celebration of the Eucharist as a sacrifice is still debated, particularly between Catholics and Protestants. In this section, we shall endeavour to give a historical overview of Catholic theologies of Eucharistic sacrifice in order to understand the background against which Kilmartin developed his theory. Though this overview does not deal directly with theological discussions on the soteriological-Christological interpretation of Christ's historical death on the Cross in cultic terms of 'sacrifice' but, instead, with the Eucharist, there will nevertheless be references made to these discussions.

### 1.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Various debates and treatises on the Eucharist within Western Christianity have occurred since Paschasius Radbert (d. c. 860),<sup>123</sup> Ratramnus of Corbie (d. c. 870),<sup>124</sup>

<sup>123</sup> For an overview of Paschasius's views on Eucharist, cf. N. M. Haring, *St. Paschasius Radbertus* ed. Thomas Carson and Joann Cerrito, 2 ed, New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 10 (New York: Thomson Gale, 2003), 918. Also cf. Travis D. Stolz, "Paschasius Radbertus and the Sacrifice of the Mass: A Medieval Antecedent to Augustana XXIV," *Logia* 10, no. 4 (2001), 9-12.

<sup>124</sup> For an overview of Ratramnus's views cf. J.J. Ryan, *Ratramnus of Corbie* ed. Thomas Carson and Joann Cerrito, 2 ed, New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 11 (New York: Thomson Gale, 2003), 924. Also cf. Owen Michael Phelan, "Horizontal and Vertical Theologies: 'Sacraments' in the Works of Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie," *Harvard Theological Review* 103, no. 3 (2010), 271-289.

and Berengar of Tours (d. 1088).<sup>125</sup> However, these early debates did not result in schisms and sacrifice had not been a major topic at issue.<sup>126</sup> With the Reformation new theological and doctrinal discussion about the Eucharist emerged. The association of the term 'sacrifice' with that of the Eucharist became a focus of disagreement.<sup>127</sup>

Martin Luther (1483-1546) was opposed to a number of late medieval Catholic Church practices regarding the Eucharist, such as indulgences, private masses,<sup>128</sup> mass stipends,<sup>129</sup> and the sacrificial interpretation of the Mass on which these practices were based. The celebrant of masses was seen as celebrating the Mass *on behalf* of the congregation, rather than celebrating *with* the people: he came to be regarded as the one by whom the fruits of the Mass are brought forth. Joseph Jungmann makes mention of (medieval) priests offering multiple intentions in a single Mass, thereby receiving multiple stipends. Some priests were convinced that they were the ones to bring the fruits of the Mass attached to those stipends. At times, priests would simply read out the texts from the Missal, sometimes even without the bread and wine necessary for the Eucharist.<sup>130</sup>

Moreover, it was especially Luther who fiercely rejected the sacrificial interpretations of the Mass. Luther and his supporters found it impossible to agree with the teaching and practice of the Catholic Church on the Eucharist as a sacrifice. Since the schism of the Reformation, the sacrificial character of the Eucharist has continued to be disputed between the Catholic Church and other denominations. Views on the term 'sacrifice' continue to be one of the points of disagreements between the churches.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Berengar's teachings initiated the "Berengarian controversy." Berengar approached the Eucharist from the perspective of a non-believer. He said through the consecration prayers it is not the Eucharistic elements that change, but the recipient in their contemplation sees the change although the elements continue to remain the same. Cf. C.E. Sheedy, "Berengarius of Tours", in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Thomas Carson and Joann Cerrito (New York: Thomson Gale, 2003), 293 – 294. Also cf. Charles Radding and Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078-1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino against Berengar of Tours* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), refer to Chapter One: "Berengar of Tours and the Eucharistic Controversy."

<sup>126</sup> Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2006), 1.

<sup>127</sup> David N. Power, *The Sacrifice We Offer: The Tridentine Dogma and Its Reinterpretation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987), 2.

<sup>128</sup> The private Mass, known as *low Mass*, was offered by a priest privately, i.e. without the presence of the assembly. Private Masses became commonplace and widely accepted from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The practice had become so widespread that it seemed the norm to both clerics and the laity. Cf. Marcel Metzger, *History of the Liturgy: The Major Stages* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1994), 125.

<sup>129</sup> A Mass stipend is an offering made to the priest by Catholics who request that a Mass be celebrated for a specific purpose or intention. Initially, such offerings were used to help the poor and were originally given in the form of gifts. Cf. J. Robert Wright, *Readings for the Daily Office from the Early Church* (Harrisburg: Church Publishing Inc, 1991), 193. It is impossible to say when the giving of money became linked with the celebration of the Mass. William Dalton, "Mass Stipends, Mass Offerings, Mass Cards," *The Furrow* 41, no. 9 (1990), 502. Also cf. Edward Gilpatric, "Mass Stipends and Mass Intentions," *Worship* 38, no. 4 (1964), 194.

<sup>130</sup> Joseph A. Jungmann, "Mass Intentions and Mass Stipends", in *Unto the Altar: The Practice of Catholic Worship*, ed. Alfons Kirchgassner (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963), 12-13 & 25-26.

<sup>131</sup> Power, *The Sacrifice We Offer: The Tridentine Dogma and Its Reinterpretation*, cf. Introduction, at xiii.

### 1.2.2 LUTHER'S REACTION TO LATE MEDIEVAL PRACTICES

Luther criticized what he considered to be obvious abuses in Catholic Mass practices. He did so on the basis of fundamental doctrinal arguments. According to the American scholar Lee Palmer Wandel, Luther rejected "the sense of the Mass as a work in which there could be human agency or human efficacy."<sup>132</sup> Daly also takes up this idea: "Following Luther, the Protestant reformers vigorously rejected the possibility that any human work can bring about or contribute to justification, and they excoriated the Roman Catholic understanding of the Sacrifice of the Mass."<sup>133</sup> Luther thought that if doctrines such as 'justification by faith alone' and the Eucharist as a merely symbolic sacrifice are not taken seriously, one runs the risk of offending God and his grace.<sup>134</sup> Luther believed that the fruits of the Mass must "proceed from God, not from human beings."<sup>135</sup> Therefore, the idea of 'Eucharist as a sacrifice' was strongly opposed by Reformers.<sup>136</sup>

In the words of Power, Luther perceived the Eucharist as a "sacrament, not sacrifice, and [a] gift, not mediation."<sup>137</sup> The Lutheran denial of the Mass as a sacrifice is made clear in the *Augsburg Confession* (Art. 24) which reads: "Further: Scripture teaches that we are justified before God through faith in Christ. But if the Mass deletes the sins of the living and the dead, because of the correctly performed rite, justification is by the work of the Mass, not by faith. And this Scripture does not tolerate."<sup>138</sup> Thus, Luther and his followers insisted on faith over good works. Justification was seen as a gift from God to his disgraced children, and not the result of one's own effort to be redeemed. For Luther, the gift of God is in itself enough; an individual's efforts and good works are not necessary to salvation. His insistence was on the "sufficiency of faith."<sup>139</sup>

Luther claimed that if the Mass was a real sacrifice, this would devalue the unique Calvary sacrifice. Luther rejected the efficacy *ex opere operato* of the Mass.<sup>140</sup> Like most reformers, however, he did not object to the Mass as a sacrifice of thanksgiving or a spiritual sacrifice. He made an important distinction between Mass as a sacrifice of thanksgiving and of atonement.<sup>141</sup> For the Reformers, the Eucharist was a sacrifice

<sup>132</sup> Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation*, 100. Also cf. Helmar Junghans, "Luther on the Reform of Worship", in *Harvesting Martin Luther's Reflections on Theology, Ethics, and the Church*, ed. Timothy J. Wengert (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2004), 212.

<sup>133</sup> Robert J. Daly, *Sacrifice Unveiled: The True Meaning of Christian Sacrifice* (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 25.

<sup>134</sup> Gerard Kelly, "Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Council of Trent," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (1985), 269.

<sup>135</sup> Junghans, "Luther on the Reform of Worship", 212.

<sup>136</sup> John McKenna, "Eucharist and Sacrifice: An Overview," *Worship* 76, no. 5 (2002), 396.

<sup>137</sup> David N. Power, *The Eucharistic Mystery: Revitalizing the Tradition* (New York: Crossroad, 1994), 252.

<sup>138</sup> Regin Prenter, "Eucharistic Sacrifice According to the Lutheran Tradition", in *Theologie und Gottesdienst*, ed. Regin Prenter (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 125.

<sup>139</sup> Carl J. Peter, "Auricular Confession and the Council of Trent," *CTSAP* 22, no. June 19-22 (1967), 195.

<sup>140</sup> The expression, *ex opere operato* means "from the work worked", or more specifically, from the sacramental sign objectively performed. Cf. Haffner, *The Sacramental Mystery*, (Herefordshire: Gracewing, 1999), 13-14.

<sup>141</sup> Jaroslav Pelikan, *Luther's Works, Companion Volume, Luther the Expositor: Introduction to the Reformer's Exegetical Writings* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 238. Cf. Luther's

only in the sense of a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. What occurred on Calvary was a sacrifice [of atonement]. However, Luther saw the Eucharist merely as a promise sealed by the blood of Christ shed on Calvary.<sup>142</sup> Luther agreed with Zwingli and preferred to regard the Eucharist simply as a "testament," or "benefit" rather than a "sacrifice."<sup>143</sup> The Eucharist is not a place where sacrifice is offered but rather where benefits are received.<sup>144</sup> These spiritual benefits accrue through divine grace. Luther's reasoning grew from his understanding of grace as the "offer of mercy to sinners who believed in God's saving word and approached the table in faith."<sup>145</sup>

For Luther, 'What is offered' in the Mass is praise and thanks to God. If the Mass is only a sacrifice of thanksgiving and praise, then a number of consequences follows: 1) Since the sacrifice of thanksgiving and praise is given by the entire community celebrating the Mass, there is no need for the priest. Hence, Luther rejects the ministerial priesthood. 2) If the Mass is not a sacrifice, then it follows that the clergy are just "ministers" and not priests. For Luther, the subject of the act of offering is the congregation.<sup>146</sup> Luther rejected the idea that the priest has an integrating role, acting in the person of Christ when the assembly is at prayer. Rather, Luther emphasised the priesthood of all the believers based on 1 Pet. 2:9.<sup>147</sup> Since every baptized person participates in the royal priesthood of Christ, there is no need for mediators between God and believers. 3) If ministerial priesthood is rejected, then Luther implicitly rejects the requirement of celibacy. Since the clergy are "ministers", there is no need to restrict them to a celibate life. 4) If the congregation is the one who offers the Mass, then private Masses make no sense. Hence, Luther and his followers attacked private Masses.<sup>148</sup> For Luther, private Masses were a fundamental abuse, a symbol of the greed of the clergy, a way to receive financial reward for services offered, catching treasure in the net of the Gospel rather than souls.<sup>149</sup> Luther thought that since the Mass is a holy sacrament, it must be celebrated by the entire Church and not just by priests alone. In Luther's view, Masses without a congregation did not count as a sacrament and should be abandoned.<sup>150</sup> He even questioned the private Masses he had once celebrated himself.<sup>151</sup> 5) If the Mass is offered only by the congregation, then it also raises questions regarding the fruits of the Mass received through the ministerial priesthood. Luther seems to change the meaning of the expression 'fruits

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discussion of sacrifices in his *Lectures on Genesis*: Chapters 1-5, Jaroslav Pelikan, *Luther's Works*, (*Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1-5*), vol. 1 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), 247-250.

<sup>142</sup> Paul Haffner, *The Sacramental Mystery*, 98.

<sup>143</sup> David Steinmetz, *Taking the Long View: Christian Theology in Historical Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 121.

<sup>144</sup> David C. Steinmetz, "The Eucharist and the Identity of Jesus in the Early Reformation", in *Seeking the Identity of Jesus: A Pilgrimage*, ed. Beverly Roberts Gaventa and Richard B. Hays (Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2008), 277.

<sup>145</sup> Prenter, "Eucharistic Sacrifice According to the Lutheran Tradition", 195.

<sup>146</sup> Norman Nagel, "Luther and the Priesthood of All Believers," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (1997), 284.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 277-298. Also cf. Mark Lewellyn Nygard, *Luther's Revolution: The Political Dimensions of Martin Luther's Universal Priesthood* (Minneapolis: Lutheran University Press, 2011), 37ff.

<sup>148</sup> William R. Crockett, *Eucharist: Symbol of Transformation* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1989), 133.

<sup>149</sup> Power, *The Sacrifice We Offer: The Tridentine Dogma and Its Reinterpretation*, 29.

<sup>150</sup> Robert C. Croken, *Luther's First Front: The Eucharist as Sacrifice* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1990), 109-120.

<sup>151</sup> Daniel Preus, "Luther and the Mass: Justification and the Joint Declaration," *Logia* 10, no. 4 (2001), 15.

of the Mass' when he says that it is the faith of the believers that makes it possible to "gather the fruits of the Mass."<sup>152</sup> This means the priest has no role in bringing about the fruits of the Mass. This rejection was clearly spelled out in his pamphlet on the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*. 6) Luther's questioning of the ministerial priesthood attacked not only the practice of private Masses, but also the practice of the Mass stipend. For Luther, the Church was turning into a grubby business in which the value and respect for the Holy Eucharist was deteriorating.

Luther's confrontation of these practices and doctrines became a powerful challenge to the Catholic Church of the era. The Church came to regard Luther's views as contradicting the Catholic faith, but he remained unwavering in his rejection of the Eucharist as a sacrifice. Eventually convinced of his own beliefs regarding the Eucharist, Luther insisted that the Reformers and the Catholic Church must endure being "forever separated and opposed to one another."<sup>153</sup>

Luther's supporters became reluctant to continue to use sacrificial language for the Eucharist. Following in the footsteps of the Reformers, the majority of Lutheran theologians up to the present day continue to hold on to Luther's stance. In positions taken by contemporary Lutheran theologians, one can clearly read a basic fidelity to Luther's own ideas on the justification and sacrificial aspect of the Mass.<sup>154</sup>

### 1.2.3 TEACHINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

An explicit theological response to Luther's claims, as well as those of other Reformers, was required by the Catholic Church. However, it was not until 1545 that Catholic bishops, meeting during the Council of Trent, officially undertook deliberations on the doctrinal matters raised by the Reformers and firmly affirmed specific doctrines, particularly on the Eucharist and the priesthood. They did so during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> sessions (Eucharist) and in the 23<sup>rd</sup> session (ordination). The Council was at pains to respond directly to Luther's denial of the sacrificial aspect of the Mass.<sup>155</sup> Since the Council of Trent played a crucial role in developing a Catholic perspective on the Eucharistic sacrifice, it forms a very necessary part of this study.

The Council clearly stated that the Mass is a *sacrificium visibile* (DH 1740).<sup>156</sup> "At the Last Supper, [the Lord] left to the Church, his beloved spouse, this visible

<sup>152</sup> Martin Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, 1520: The Annotated Luther Study Edition* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2016), ref. 2:60

<sup>153</sup> Erwin Iserloh, "Luther and the Council of Trent," *Catholic Historical Review* 69, no. 4 (1983), 565.

<sup>154</sup> See for example Kent S. Knutson, "Contemporary Lutheran Theology and the Eucharistic Sacrifice", in *Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue*, ed. Paul C. Empie and T. Austin Murphy (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing, 1968), 176.

<sup>155</sup> Michael McGuckian, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass: A Search for an Acceptable Notion of Sacrifice* (Herefordshire: Gracewing Publishing, 2005), 8.

<sup>156</sup> According to the Trent Fathers, "[Christ], our Lord and God, was once and for all to offer himself to God the Father by his death on the altar of the Cross, to accomplish there an everlasting redemption. But because his priesthood was not to end with his death, at the Last Supper 'on the night when He was betrayed', [He wanted] to leave to his beloved spouse the Church a visible sacrifice (as the nature of man demands) by which the bloody sacrifice which He was to accomplish once for all on the Cross would be re-presented [*repraesentatio*], its memory perpetuated until the end of the world, and its salutary power be applied to the forgiveness of the sins we daily commit" (DH 1740).

sacrifice [...] by which that bloody sacrifice, once to be accomplished on the cross, would be represented." Through this visible sacrifice, "it's [i.e. the sacrifice on the Cross] salutary virtue would be applied to the remission of those sins we daily commit" (DH 1740). The Council members emphasised the crucial place of the Eucharist in the Church's life and mission. Their response focused, in the first instance, on the expiatory character of the Mass, then moved on to reflect on the real presence in the Eucharist. Their purpose was clear: to clarify Church dogma and rebut errors. The Council Fathers were anxious to respond to their opponents' denial of the Eucharist as a sacrifice. The Mass, they claimed, is not only a sacrament, but also a sacrifice. Moreover, the sacrifice of the Mass is not merely an offering of praise and thanksgiving, or simply a memorial of the sacrifice on the Cross. Rather, it is a propitiatory sacrifice. It is offered for the living and the dead, for the remission of sins, and for other needs and necessities (DH 1740).<sup>157</sup>

The Council's teaching on the Eucharistic sacrifice was brief. The Council Fathers defended their position, affirming that in the Mass it is Jesus, the One who offered Himself voluntarily on the Cross, who is the same sufferer and victim now offering the same sacrifice in the Eucharist (DH 1743). The language used by the Council reinforces the view that Christ is present in the sacrifice of the Mass, not only under the Eucharistic species but also through the ministry of priests, for the "sacrifice and priesthood are, by the ordinance of God, in such wise conjoined as that both have always existed in every dispensation" (DH 1764). Luther's rejection of the priest acting in the person of Christ means the rejection of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.<sup>158</sup>

Although the Council affirmed its position, it did not offer a clear explanation of Eucharistic sacrifice.<sup>159</sup> Holding firmly to its stance, it failed to offer a final solution to the Reformists' challenges. The Council just anathematized anyone who opposed any of its doctrinal teachings.<sup>160</sup> Similarly, the doctrinal definition of the sacraments was not sufficiently examined.<sup>161</sup> As Maloney observes, "unfortunately the Council did not decide the issue in a fundamental way. They were content to teach in the first chapter of the decree that in the Last Supper Christ offered Himself, but they left open how this was related to the other aspects of Christ's sacrifice."<sup>162</sup> The Council Fathers simply stated that Luther's teachings did not accord with the faith handed down by Christ's Apostles. Concluding his observations on the Eucharistic theology of the Council of Trent, Gerard Kelly notes that the Council was limited by the constraints of place and time: "Despite the apparent weaknesses in the council statement it has been argued that many ideas implicit in the discussion were not able to be expressed explicitly."<sup>163</sup> As a result, many aspects in the doctrine about Eucharist and sacrifice continued to remain open for discussion.

<sup>157</sup> DH refers to Denzinger-Hünemann, *The Sources of Catholic Dogma* ed. Roy J. Deferrari (Fitswilliam, NH: Loretto Publication, 2007). For the original cf. Denzinger-Hünemann, *Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen*, 37<sup>th</sup> ed., (Freiburg: Herder, 1991).

<sup>158</sup> George Hunsinger, *The Eucharist and Ecumenism: Let Us Keep the Feast*, Current Issues in Theology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 135.

<sup>159</sup> R. Kevin Seasoltz, *Living Bread, Saving Cup: Readings on the Eucharist* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1987), 269.

<sup>160</sup> Power, *The Sacrifice We Offer: The Tridentine Dogma and Its Reinterpretation*, 127.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 131-133.

<sup>162</sup> Raymond Moloney, *The Eucharist* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1995), 169.

<sup>163</sup> Kelly, "Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Council of Trent," 286.



### 1.2.4 THE POST-TRIDENTINE ERA

As Owen F. Cummings notes, since the Council did not clearly explain the sacrificial nature of the Mass, this work was left to be developed by the scholars of the era.<sup>164</sup> During the post-Tridentine period, many scholars committed themselves to defending and elaborating the Catholic position.

After Trent, Catholic theologians developed many different theories about what makes the Eucharist a sacrifice. Marius Lepin (1870-1952) has classified these into four main theories.<sup>165</sup> Kilmartin seems to have derived his knowledge of post-Tridentine theologies from Lepin. One of the key questions was about immolation: many regarded this as an essential element of a sacrifice but disagreed about its nature in the Eucharist.<sup>166</sup> Lepin's four theories can be summarized as follows:

According to the first theory, as summarized by Daly: "The sacrifice does not require a real change in the victim or host; the Mass contains only a figure of the immolation of Christ."<sup>167</sup> In other words, the concept of 'sacrifice' does not imply a real destruction or immolation of a victim. It is enough that the destruction is somehow merely symbolized. Some locate this symbolizing in the fraction and eating (Melchior Cano, (1509-1560) or only in the eating (Dominic de Soto (1494-1560)). Others locate it in the consecration itself (Alfonso Salmeron (1518-1585) and Juan de Maldonado (1515-1583)).<sup>168</sup>

The second theory states: "The sacrifice requires a real change of the material offered: in the Mass the change takes place in the substance of the bread and wine."<sup>169</sup> Scholars like Michel de Bay (1513-1589) claimed that bread and wine can be said to be a sacrifice insofar as they are dedicated for (substantial) change. But, also, the body and blood of Christ can be said to be a sacrifice, insofar as they are "the term of the change." Francisco Torrès (1509-1584) taught that the sacrifice happens through the transubstantiation of the Eucharistic species. Matthew van der Galen (1528-1573), Francis Suarez (1548-1617), and Francisco de Toledo (1515-1582) also saw "the change only in the bread transubstantiated by the consecration." However, since the Eucharistic species – the bread and wine – are "not the true victims offered to God, they are led practically to justify the Eucharistic sacrifice in some other way."<sup>170</sup> Van der Galen, for example, finally abandons the idea that sacrifice requires a real change, and thinks that "the oblation of Christ rendered present under the transubstantiated species" is enough to speak of a sacrifice.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Owen F. Cummings, *Eucharistic Doctors: A Theological History* (New Jersey: Paulist, 2005), 205.

<sup>165</sup> Recently, Trent Pomplun argued that Lepin (and Daly) do not render the post-Tridentine theories of the Eucharistic sacrifice correctly. However, Pomplun also remarks that Kilmartin seems to have based his understanding of these theories on Lepin. Cf. Trent Pomplun, "Post-Tridentine Sacramental Theology", in *The Oxford Handbook of Sacramental Theology*, ed. Hans Boersma and Matthew Levering (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 348-361, at 356.

<sup>166</sup> Daly, *Sacrifice Unveiled*, 159.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>168</sup> Robert J. Daly, *The Council of Trent* ed. Lee Palmer Wandel, A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2014), 169. Also cf. Robert J. Daly, "Robert Bellarmine and Post-Tridentine Eucharistic Theology," *Theological Studies* 61, no. 2 (2000), 239-260.

<sup>169</sup> Daly, *Sacrifice Unveiled*, 160.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 160-161.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

According to the third theory: "The sacrifice requires a real change of the material offered; in the Mass, the change affects Christ Himself."<sup>172</sup> Daly distinguishes several versions of the third theory. One is represented by Jan Hessels and Jean de Via (d. ca. 1582). According to them, the real change occurs in the heavenly continuation of Christ's historical sacrifice. Another version was developed by Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) who emerged as one of the most influential figures of the post-Tridentine era and played a crucial role in the later explanation of the teachings of the Council. For him, some form of *bodily* destruction of the victim was essential for there to be a true sacrifice. Bellarmine believed that the Victim was completely destroyed through the consumption by the priest. Hence, Jesus is truly destroyed in every Mass.<sup>173</sup> Bellarmine held that the consecration must be completed by communion. Bellarmine distinguishes between the communion by the priest and by the people and he believed that it is the priest's communion that constitutes the true sacrifice. This, Bellarmine believed, to be in accord with the teachings of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274).<sup>174</sup> The specifics of Bellarmine's view met severe criticism. Gabriel Vasquez (c 1550-1604), for example, ridiculed it by pointing out that in that case, the sacrifice would not be accomplished on the altar, but in the belly of the priest. However, as Daly argues, because of Bellarmine's authority, many (for example, Henri Henriquez (1536-1608), Peter de Ledesma (d.1616) and Gregory de Valencia (1550- 1603)), accepted the idea that true sacrifice requires some kind of real immolation of the victim.

According to the fourth theory: "The sacrifice requires a real change: nevertheless, there is in the Mass a change only in the species of the sacrament."<sup>175</sup> This theory is related to the second one but is focused on the difficulty of showing how the Eucharist is a sacrifice in the full sense of the word. In contrast with the third theory, it "place[s] the essence of the Eucharistic sacrifice elsewhere than in a real change in Christ." Daly points out that most supporters of this theory either had to accept a contradiction (the Eucharist is not Christ's sacrifice because He does not change (William Allen and Jacques de Bay) or were forced to qualify the sense in which the Eucharist is a true sacrifice (e.g., Vasquez, who states that it is only a 'relative sacrifice').

Lepin, as summarized by Daly, concluded that there were two clear tendencies among the theologians following the Council of Trent in their efforts to explain the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist. The first tendency was to find real change or destruction in the sacrifice of the Mass, as in Bellarmine's theory, for example. The second tendency – supported by an equally large number of scholars – maintained the opposite, viz., that in the Eucharist "Christ does not undergo any real change, neither at the consecration nor at the communion; there is only a figure of his past immolation and an appearance of death."<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

<sup>173</sup> James Thomas O'Connor, *The Hidden Manna: A Theology of the Eucharist* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2005), 237.

<sup>174</sup> Daly, *The Council of Trent*, 174.

<sup>175</sup> Daly, *Sacrifice Unveiled*, 163.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

### 1.2.5 CONCLUSION

We have been considering theological views of the Eucharistic sacrifice during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. We saw how the term 'sacrifice' was fiercely debated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Catholic theologians, especially the Council Fathers of Trent, considered the Reformers' views to be a rejection of the Catholic understanding of the Mass as a sacrifice. For Catholics, the Reformers were undermining the concept of human efforts involved in salvation and were also not sufficiently considering the concept of the Eucharist as a true and propitiatory sacrifice. Luther and his followers maintained that the Mass is only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. This concept had a number of consequences. It rejected ministerial priesthood, celibacy, private Masses, and the mass stipend strategy. Luther, instead, emphasized the universal priesthood. Mass without a congregation could not be a sacrament. For Luther, the Council Fathers defined the Eucharist as a 'true and propitiatory sacrifice' without providing an adequate explanation. To counteract the views of Luther and other Reformers, and to explain the decisions of the Council, many different theological theories began to emerge among Catholic theologians concerning the exact nature of sacrifice and how it is actually realized in the liturgy of the Eucharist.

## 1.3 EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY IN CASEL AND VONIER

The debate around Eucharistic sacrifice, which had emerged in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, continued in the following centuries. Most theologians and Church leaders who took part in the ongoing debate shared a number of basic ideas that were part of what Kilmartin labelled, "the average theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice," which we shall deal with in the third chapter. The apologetic interest remained a main motive in their theology about the Eucharistic sacrifice. However, from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, there were also attempts to renew the Catholic practice and theology of the Eucharist. The Liturgical Movement, which originated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, became a major source for this innovation.<sup>177</sup> The Liturgical Movement began as an attempt to create a more dynamic, better informed participation in the liturgy. The movement sought to make liturgy both more akin to early Christian traditions but also more applicable to modern Christian life. Members of the Liturgical Movement insisted that the Catholic Church should return to a Eucharist-centred piety in order to renew the way believers lived as a Church. The movement promoted a return to a more biblical base and to seeking inspiration from the early Church Fathers – not only within worship itself, but by taking inspiration from them as a way of life. A core belief of the movement was that becoming a Christian through baptism was inadequate if the believer was unable to meet Christ in a personal life through faith. Thus, the movement sought a deeper understanding of the relationship between liturgy and the *mysterium* of Christ, so that Christians might better relate to God and to one another. The ultimate goal of this movement was "to bring about a new Pentecost, a new Reformation, a new birth of a sense of Church that goes beyond the doors of the building to embrace the world."<sup>178</sup> This belief was to become core to Kilmartin's view, too.

<sup>177</sup> James F. White and Nathan D. Mitchell, *Roman Catholic Worship: From Trent to Today* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2003), 72-73.

<sup>178</sup> Robert L. Tuzik, "The Liturgical Movement and the Future Church," *Liturgical Ministry* 3, no. Summer (1994), 100-106. For an overview of Liturgical Movement, cf. André Haquin, "The Liturgical

Our purpose in this section is to sketch the thoughts of Vonier and Odo Casel, who inaugurated a renewal in 20<sup>th</sup>-century Eucharistic theology. Their works also greatly influenced Kilmartin. Vonier and Casel, working independently of each other, shared a particular interest in the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist. Both scholars have also been influential in official Catholic Church teaching on the Eucharist. Although Casel is perhaps better known than Vonier for his theological interpretations of the presence and sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist, I begin this section with a reflection on Vonier, since he predates Casel by a decade.

### *1.3.1 ANSCAR VONIER (1875-1938)*

Anscar Vonier was a gifted, dogmatic theologian during the inter-war years. He was born in Germany, studied in Rome, and was the abbot of the Benedictine Buckfast Abbey in England as of 1906. For his works on theology, Vonier relied upon two important sources: the letters of St. Paul and the *Summa Theologiae* of Aquinas, making his work both biblical and Thomistic. While his profound knowledge of St. Paul's theology had its roots in his earlier studies of philosophy and theology, it was while studying in Rome that Vonier's thoughts on Aquinas developed.

According to Dom John Chapman, although ongoing theological debates surrounding Eucharistic sacrifice were still of great concern to the Church, Vonier did not enter into them directly by means of post-Tridentine theology. Vonier approached the idea of the Eucharist as a sacrifice by going back to an earlier period,<sup>179</sup> namely, the time of Aquinas. Vonier's interpretation of the Eucharist as a sacrifice reveals Aquinas' influence on his thinking. Referring to Aquinas was common practice in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the era of 'neo-Thomism'. Vonier firmly believed Aquinas' approach to be the truest because it provided the clearest presentation of the relation of Calvary and the celebration of the Eucharist. However, contrary to the neo-Thomistic practice of reading Aquinas mainly through the lens of the Thomist commentators of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Vonier bypassed that commentary tradition and read Aquinas directly. Vonier thought that, according to Aquinas, the consecration is the essence of the celebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice. In 1925, Vonier published his thoughts on the Eucharist in a work named, *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, which evoked both the teachings of the Council of Trent on the Eucharist, as well as those proposed by Aquinas. In it, Vonier argued for the idea of the sacramental sacrifice of the Mass.<sup>180</sup> For him, the Eucharist is first and foremost a sacred sacrifice. It is specifically *the sacrament of the Sacrifice of Christ*.

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Movement and Catholic Ritual Revision", in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, ed. Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 696-713; Keith F. Pecklers and Bryan D. Spinks, "The Liturgical Movement", in *New Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw (London: SCM Press, 2013), 283-289; John R.K. Fenwick and Bryn D. Spinks, *Worship in Transition: The Twentieth Century Liturgical Movement* (New York: Continuum, 1995).

<sup>179</sup> Quoted from Owen F. Cummings, *Liturgical Snapshots: Reflections on the Richness of Our Worship Tradition* (New York: Paulist Press, 2012), Chapter 6, cf. footnote 20. For the original, cf. Dom John Chapman, "Review of *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist*," *Downside Review* 44, no. 1 (1926), 95.

<sup>180</sup> Dom Anscar Vonier, *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist* (London: Burns & Oates, 1925).

In our presentation of Vonier's sacramental sacrifice, we shall focus on four key ideas: 1) his explanation of the difference between natural and sacramental sacrifice; 2) the relationship between the Last Supper and the Calvary sacrifice; 3) the sacramentality ('sign') reality and the notion of 'transposition', and 4) the difference in the 'manner of offering' and between the 'new-not new' sacrifice.

Vonier proposes that if the Eucharist is to be understood only as a natural sacrifice and not a sacramental one, then the altar becomes something that is competing with the Cross.<sup>181</sup> He contrasts 'natural sacrifice' with 'sacramental', 'mystical', and 'unbloody' sacrifice or, as he eventually came to understand it, 'sacrament-sacrifice', where both these elements are equally real and equally true. For Vonier, 'natural' meant "exhibiting features which are observed by our natural powers of knowledge."<sup>182</sup> A natural sacrifice can therefore only be related to human observation and experience. The Eucharistic sacrifice, Vonier maintains, is just the contrary: no human experience could explain the nature and characteristics of that sacrifice. It is a 'true' sacrifice, but it is a type of sacrifice not fully open to human examination. Because the Eucharistic sacrifice involves a representation, it cannot merely be a 'natural' one. A natural sacrifice would necessarily involve the physical presence of the Sacrifice of the Cross in the Mass, which is philosophically and physically impossible. Therefore, it must be understood from a sacramental perspective. The sacrifice of Jesus on the Cross was indeed a natural one, visible and able to be experienced. The Mass, which is a visible commemoration of that one-time sacrifice, came to be understood by Vonier as a different *mode* of the same sacrifice – one that is sacramental in nature. Referring to the thinking of Aquinas, Vonier suggests a link between Calvary and the Eucharist by arguing that the Mass is the sacrament of the sacrifice of Christ, a 'sacrament-sacrifice'.<sup>183</sup> 'Sacramental', as used by Vonier, denotes that the sacrifice is a *sign*, which can only be understood by faith. For Vonier, it is very important "to safeguard the sacramentality of the sacrifice of the Mass, to eliminate from it all such things as would make it into a natural sacrifice, a human act, with human sensations and human circumstances."<sup>184</sup> Without this sacramental concept, according to Vonier, we cannot understand how the Mass is one and the same sacrifice as the Golgotha event. The logic he used was that if one believes that the crucifixion on Calvary was a sacrifice, then Holy Mass is also a sacrifice. It is not the proceeding itself, the celebration of the Mystery, which is the sacrifice but, rather, something that is present in an unseen way. While blood was shed on the Cross, the Eucharist is a bloodless sacrifice identified with the significant rite of the double consecration of the Eucharistic species – the bread and the wine.<sup>185</sup>

Vonier believes that "the Eucharistic sacrifice was offered up first at the Last Supper, before the natural sacrifice [i.e. the sacrifice on the Cross] took place. If [the Last Supper] were a natural sacrifice, we could not avoid the conclusion that the world was redeemed before Christ shed his first drop of Blood, as the Last Supper would have

<sup>181</sup> Robert Sokolowski, *Eucharistic Presence: A Study in the Theology of Discourse* (Washington: CUA, 1994); Vonier, *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, 135.

<sup>182</sup> Vonier, *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, 88.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>185</sup> Anscar Vonier, *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, 89-90 & 105.

had infinite value as sacrifice in its own right."<sup>186</sup> Here Vonier is arguing against an idea proposed by the theologian Maurice de la Taille (1872-1933). De la Taille had argued that the Last Supper constituted the priestly oblation by Christ of the flesh which would later be sacrificed on the Cross. Therefore, Calvary was not complete without the Last Supper and what took place there.<sup>187</sup> De la Taille emphasises the reality of the act of oblation which he believes "unites the events of different temporalities."<sup>188</sup> Whereas Vonier tries to maintain the distinction between both the sacrificial events, De la Taille seems to argue for the unity of the Last Supper and the Cross.

For Vonier, the reality of Calvary was "transposed" under the sacramental signs,<sup>189</sup> in the sense that the Eucharist is a sacramental sacrifice and not a natural one.<sup>190</sup> It involves a kind of representation, not of the glorified Christ who is now in heaven, but of Christ at a particular moment in the past when He "was broken up on the Cross."<sup>191</sup> Just as Christ's blood was separated from his body during his death, so, too, do the Eucharistic elements symbolically represent the body and blood, i.e. they represent "that phase of Christ when He was dead on the Cross."<sup>192</sup> Vonier writes, "once we admit the fundamental principle that God has power to transpose reality and being from one order into the other, from the natural order [including the historical order] into the sacramental order, we have committed ourselves to every possible instance of such transposition."<sup>193</sup> If a sacrament ceases to reveal as a sign something that is unseen, then it cannot be called a sacrament. Vonier believes, with Aquinas, that every sacrament is a sign of the past, the present, and also of the future.<sup>194</sup> The death of Christ is the 'past' of a sacrament, while the believers' supernatural transformation it brings about by grace is its 'present', and the promised eternal glory is its 'future'.<sup>195</sup> Summarizing Vonier, Aidan Nicolas comments: "the sacrifice of the Mass is the expression in sign of all that our great high priest in his once-for-all offering on the Cross underwent, did, and was. Calvary and the Mass are the self-same reality, in two utterly different modes."<sup>196</sup> Vonier sees sacramentality as the key because this not only answers the question of the character of sacrifice, for instance, the question of the bloody immolation involved in a sacrifice, but also answers the question as to the

<sup>186</sup> Vonier, *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, 141.

<sup>187</sup> Aidan Nichols, "Introduction" To *Anscar Vonier, Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist* (Bethesda, MD: Zaccchaeus Press, 2003) Available also online, [http://www.ignatiusinsight.com/features2007/anichols\\_introvonier\\_aug07.asp](http://www.ignatiusinsight.com/features2007/anichols_introvonier_aug07.asp) (accessed 15th December 2016).

<sup>188</sup> Michon M. Matthiesen, *Sacrifice as Gift: Eucharist, Grace, and Contemplative Prayer in Maurice de la Taille* (America: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013), 79.

<sup>189</sup> Sacramental sign refers to the ritual by which a "sacrament is performed and through which the distinctive graces of that sacrament are conferred," for instance, the pouring of the water and the Trinitarian formula for the sacrament of baptism. Cf. John Hardon, *Sacramental Sign*, Catholic Dictionary: An Abridged and Updated Edition of Modern Catholic Dictionary (New York: Image Books, 2013), 443.

<sup>190</sup> Vonier, *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, 86-91, 110 & 141.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-122.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>193</sup> Vonier, *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, 220.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>196</sup> Aidan Nicolas, [http://www.ignatiusinsight.com/features2007/anichols\\_introvonier\\_aug07.asp](http://www.ignatiusinsight.com/features2007/anichols_introvonier_aug07.asp) (accessed 15th December 2016).

presence of Christ in the Eucharist, i.e. the way in which Christ is present in the bread and wine.

However, the manner of offering is different. Calvary involves a bloody sacrifice whereas the Eucharist involves an unbloody one. The Eucharist is both a 'new' and 'not-new' sacrifice. The sacrifice is new everyday but at the same time is not new.<sup>197</sup> Vonier thinks that the sacrifice of the Cross contained everything necessary to make it a perfect sacrifice. What the Church celebrates today is the "living memory of the holiest thing that ever happened here on earth, the sacrifice of perfect sweetness on Calvary."<sup>198</sup> He suggests that in the Church's celebration of the Calvary sacrifice that is perfect, nothing new is consequently added to it. The Eucharist adds nothing to Calvary, but is truly the brightness of its glory and its figure. Figure is not the same as 'substance'.<sup>199</sup> For Vonier, trying to find a bloody immolation within the Eucharist would lead to the risk of making the Eucharist a secondary, natural sacrifice, and not the same as the sacrifice of the Cross. For Vonier, "the Calvary immolation is represented so truly, and is applied so directly, through the Eucharistic Body and Blood" that no further addition is necessary.<sup>200</sup>

Vonier's view on the Eucharistic sacrifice was not endorsed by all Catholic scholarship since it contains a denial of natural sacrifice, which involves visible immolation and oblation. On this point, his view differs, for example, from that of Rahner who considered the Mass to be a *sacrificium visibile*. *Sacrificium visibile* obviously means that what we see and experience in ritualistic celebration of the Mass is in itself a sacrifice.<sup>201</sup> In other words, the Mass involves a natural sacrifice. On the other hand, the denial of the natural sacrifice is essential to Vonier's understanding of the sacramental sacrifice.<sup>202</sup> Peter J. Casarella concludes that with such an explanation, Vonier (like De la Taille) seems to offer a "spiritual reading of the sacrifice of the Mass."<sup>203</sup> Maloney writes that Vonier's approach provides "the most satisfactory basis for a theological explanation of the unity of the Eucharist and the cross."<sup>204</sup> Vonier's interpretation also found favour in the works of Dom Burkhard Neunheuser (1903-2003) who said that the "Eucharist is an image (*imago repraesentativa*) of the passion of Christ."<sup>205</sup>

Having reviewed Vonier's perspective, we move our focus to Casel's interpretations of the Eucharist as sacrifice. While Vonier was developing his theology, Casel's theology on the Eucharistic sacrifice was already published, although not in its mature form. A Benedictine and proponent of Mystical Body theology, Casel has been credited by contemporary scholars, including Pope Benedict XVI, as the theologian

<sup>197</sup> Vonier, *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, 134.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 233.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>201</sup> Karl Rahner and Angelus Häussling, *The Celebration of the Eucharist* (London/New York: Burns & Oates Herder and Herder, 1968), 18.

<sup>202</sup> McGuckian, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, 5.

<sup>203</sup> Peter J. Casarella, "Catholic Sacramental Theology in the Twentieth Century", in *The Oxford Handbook of Sacramental Theology*, ed. Hans Boersma and Matthew Levering (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 420.

<sup>204</sup> Moloney, *The Eucharist*, 209.

<sup>205</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology: Towards the Third Millennium," *Theological Studies* 55, no. 3 (1994), 408.

most responsible for detaching the strings of Catholic sacramental theology from its post-Reformation period. This recognition came about particularly through Casel's theology on the Mysterious Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the influence of which is still reflected in the writings of contemporary authors today<sup>206</sup> (even if his proposals also met serious criticisms).

### 1.3.2 DOM ODO CASEL (1886-1948)

Casel is perhaps best known for his connection with the 20th-century 'Liturgical Movement', originally started by a French Benedictine named Prosper Guéranger.<sup>207</sup> Casel's theological investigations focussed on worship, liturgy, and on the Eucharist in particular. As Kilmartin remarked, Casel's theology was "concerned with deepening the understanding of the very essence of Christianity."<sup>208</sup> For the purposes of this study, it is important to note that Casel also engaged in discussing the controversies and theological perspectives of the Council of Trent. Since some of his works have not yet been translated, in order to achieve a stronger understanding of his theological perspectives, I have relied on recent secondary sources in English by authors like Joost van Rossum,<sup>209</sup> Burkhard Neunheuser (1903-2003),<sup>210</sup> Charles Davis (1923-1999),<sup>211</sup> and Jeffrey M. Kemper.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>206</sup> Christopher S. Collins, *The Word Made Love: The Dialogical Theology of Joseph Ratzinger/Benedict XVI* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2013), 7-8.

<sup>207</sup> In the early 19th century, Prosper Guéranger (1805-1875) started the work of liturgical renewal in the Catholic Church. His inspiration could be viewed as the foundation of the modern liturgical movement. After realizing his call to the liturgical renewal in 1829, Guéranger re-established the Benedictine abbey at Solesmes, France in 1833 with the aim of organizing a monastic community dedicated both to the celebration of the Mass and the Divine Office and to give importance to the learning of the sacred Scriptures, the historical origin of the liturgy, the saints, and spiritual and mystical theology. Guéranger used the expression "liturgical movement" to indicate a rising concern among the learned and the ordinary faithful around reforming the liturgical practices within the Catholic community. R.W. Franklin, *Nineteenth-Century Churches: The History of a New Catholicism in Württemberg, England, and France* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc, 1987), 3. "Let us hope that the liturgical movement which is expanding and spreading will awaken also among the faithful the meaning of the Divine Office, that their attendance in Church will become more intelligent, and that the time will come when, once more imbued with the spirit of the liturgy, they will feel the need to participate in the sacred chants." Cf. Prosper Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques*, vol. III (Paris: Julien, Lanier et Co. Editeurs, 1851), 170-171; cited in Robert L. Tuzik, *How Firm a Foundation: Leaders of the Liturgical Movement* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1990), 17. The thoughts and reflections of Guéranger were eventually certified by the Catholic Church when Pope Pius X published his *motu proprio*, *Tra le sollecitudini* in 1903 strongly supporting the integration of Gregorian music in public liturgical services as a means of encouraging the lively involvement of all the laity in the liturgy of the Church. For the text, cf. James J. Megivern, ed. *Worship and Liturgy: Official Catholic Teachings* (Wilmington: NC: McGrath Publishing Company, 1978), 16-26. In conclusion, as E.B. Koenker states, the sole purpose of the liturgical movement is to understand the significance of the liturgy and to make it "a vital thing in the understanding of the faithful," in particular, the Eucharist. Cf. Ernest Benjamin Koenker, *The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 3. The reason is well explained by Louis Bouyer in his definition of the movement. He defines it as "the natural response arising in the Church to the perception that many people have lost the knowledge and understanding of the liturgy which should belong to Christians, both clergy and laity, and in consequence, have lost the right use of the liturgy also." Cf. Louis Bouyer, *Life and Liturgy* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1965), 39.

<sup>208</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology* ed. Robert J. Daly (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1998), 268.

<sup>209</sup> Joost van Rossum, "Dom Odo Casel Osb," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 22, no. 2-3 (1978), 141-151.



### 1.3.2.1 Casel's Theology of the Liturgy

Casel entered a Benedictine monastery in 1905. In 1913, he completed his doctoral thesis on the Eucharistic theology of St. Justin at the St. Anselm Institute in Rome. In 1918, he published his first work on liturgy, "The Memorial of the Lord in Ancient Christian Liturgy" (*Das Gedächtnis des Herrn in der altchristlichen Liturgie*).<sup>213</sup> In 1922, he published another work, "The Liturgy as the Celebration of the Mysteries" (*Die Liturgie als Mysterienfeier*).<sup>214</sup> In 1932, he proposed further important perspectives on Christian worship, "The Mystery of Christian Worship" (*Das christliche Kultmysterium*).<sup>215</sup> Through his classical study of Graeco-Roman religious rites, Casel had become conscious of the character and meaning of those mystery religions that existed before the rise of early Christianity and which he believed had impacted it.<sup>216</sup> These religions, while differing in their beliefs and traditions, had a common purpose of becoming one with the gods. All made use of ritual in order to make present the pre-existing actions of the gods, surpassing both time and space. Casel speculated that the Church Fathers had borrowed certain elements from the mystery religions in order to expand their own theology of sacramentality, as well as to create the corporal actions used in the liturgy. Casel was very clear about the fact that he did not consider Christianity to have originated in these mystery religions, nor that the Church had been dependent upon them. He insisted, however, that certain of the early Church's customs and traditions had been borrowed from mystery religions and cults. In addition, he asserted that the Church was less influenced by Jewish traditions and culture than by pagan cults.<sup>217</sup> Casel's suggestion that pagan cults had influenced Christian liturgy opened him to attack. He was criticized by many theologians and his view evoked some controversies.<sup>218</sup> Finally, after years of research and prayer, Casel published his final work defending his position on Christian mystery, "Faith, Gnosis and Mystery" (*Glaube, Gnosis und Mysterium*).<sup>219</sup> In his work, "The Mystery of Christian Worship," Casel summarizes his ideas on the liturgy and its mystery. Emphasizing three significant elements to explain the mystery, he begins his argument with a trenchant question: "What is Christianity?"<sup>220</sup> For Casel, Christianity is an organic form of cult, something it adopted from pagan

<sup>210</sup> Burkhard Neunheuser, "Odo Casel in Retrospect and Prospect," *Worship* 50, no. 6 (1976), 481-504.

<sup>211</sup> Charles Davis, "Odo Casel and the Theology of Mysteries," *Worship* 34, no. 8 (1960), 428-438.

<sup>212</sup> Jeffrey M. Kemper, "Liturgy Notes," *Liturgical Ministry* Summer (1999), 157-161.

<sup>213</sup> Odo Casel, *Gedächtnis des Herrn in der altchristlichen Liturgie: die Grundgedanken des Messkanons*, *Ecclesia orans*, vol. 2 (Freiburg: Herder & Company G.m.b.H. Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1918), 1-55. I have used the works of Casel that were translated into English. For the other works - that were read by Kilmartin in the original language - I relied on secondary sources in English.

<sup>214</sup> Odo Casel, *Die Liturgie als Mysterienfeier*, *Ecclesia orans*: zur einföhrung in den Geist der Liturgie, vol. 9 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Company G.m.b.H. Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922), 1-157.

<sup>215</sup> The English translations of this work can be found in: Odo Casel, *The Mystery of Christian Worship and Other Writings*, trans Burkhard Neunheuser (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1962), 1-99.

<sup>216</sup> Rose M. Beal, "The Liturgical Legacy of Odo Casel O.S.B.," *Worship* 86, no. 2 March (2012), 99.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>218</sup> According to Charles Davis, as is often the case with many proponents of new theories, Casel was striking back against the "current mentality" of his opponents especially those who saw Christianity as a codified legalism. Cf. Charles Davis, *Liturgy and Doctrine: The Doctrinal Basis of the Liturgical Movement* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1960), 1-123.

<sup>219</sup> Odo Casel, *Glaube, Gnosis, Mysterium* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941), 1-156.

<sup>220</sup> Clifford Howell, "Review of the Mystery of Christian Worship and Other Writings," *Theological Studies* 24, no. 1 (1963), 41.

mystery. Therefore, Christianity is not a 'religion'. Taking an idea from St. Paul, Casel argued that Christianity is, rather, a mystery, a heavenly act of God to accomplish his eternal plan in history. Christianity "in its full and original meaning is not ... an ideology with a religious background ... but it is a Mystery ... a revelation of God through divine-human acts, full of life and power."<sup>221</sup> The very first implication of this concept of 'mystery' is that it is about God Himself and about his providential plan. According to Casel, mystery means "first of all, a deed of God's, the working-out of an eternal divine plan through an act which proceeds from His eternity, is realized in time and the world, and returns once more to Him, its goal in eternity."<sup>222</sup>

Casel goes on to assert his main second claim, that this mystery is realized in the Word, Christ Himself. The mystery is revealed in the person of Jesus, who, taking on the burden of sin, brought redemption to humanity. In order to support this statement, Casel cites Scripture, specifically Heb. 1:1ff; Jn. 1:14ff; 1 Jn. 1:2; Rom. 16:25; 1 Cor. 2:8ff.<sup>223</sup> God humbled Himself to share in our humanity so that humanity could share in God's divinity. This reciprocal sharing reaches its fullest expression in the sacrifice of Jesus.

Casel's third assertion is that the mystery is experienced in the sacramental worship of the Church. For Casel, it is only in Christianity, especially in the celebration of the Eucharist, that one finds the authentic concept of sacrifice. The sacrifice of the Church is perfect because the sacrifice of Christ is perfect. Jesus, by taking upon Himself all the sins of the world, represents the entirety of humanity as He offers Himself to God the Father. For Casel, this action takes place in the sacraments, especially in the sacrament of the Eucharist and in Baptism.

### 1.3.2.2 Casel on the Mystery-Presence of Christ in the Liturgy/Eucharist

Casel gives a biblical foundation to his *mysterium* theory. The key passage which inspired him to search for a deeper liturgical doctrine was Romans 6: 3-11, where St. Paul speaks of Christian participation in the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus. Casel represents the substance of the mystery of worship by quoting Paul's depiction of the believers' sacramental participation in the death and resurrection of Christ: "If, then, we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him." We have been united to Christ's death through baptism and we will also be "united with him in the resurrection."<sup>224</sup>

Casel has very specific ideas about the relationship between the Church and liturgy, which is very central to his theology. For him, the Church, the spouse of Christ, carries out the sacrifice of Christ. The sacrifices of the Church and of Christ are "fundamentally one" and "flow together."<sup>225</sup> Casel makes use of the Johannine image

<sup>221</sup> Odo Casel, *Das christliche Kultmysterium* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1960), 27, as quoted from Thomas Quartier, "Participation in Monastic Liturgy as Experience of the Mystery: Empirical Liturgical Explorations in a Monastic Context," *Leuven Encounters in Systematic Theology* (2014), 6.

<sup>222</sup> Casel, *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, 9.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 10. These Bible verses speak of God's revelation in Christ.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

of the Church being born from the side of Jesus in the visible signs of blood and water. Consequently, the Church is entrusted with the responsibility of being both collaborator and helper in the plan of salvation through Christ. Casel writes that, "the Church, 'through the priest's ministry', carries out the mystery and so offers her Bridegroom's sacrifice: it is then, at the same time, her sacrifice."<sup>226</sup> While his theology differentiated clearly between the sacramental mystery and the historical reality – a point we shall soon discuss – for Casel, Christ, the immolated and divinized Lord, is the principal basis of the Church. The Church continues to exist by means of these Mysteries in the liturgy; in this way, God continues his saving plan. It is by these heavenly Mysteries that Christ continues to communicate his life to the Church, making his friendship and action constant and real. Liturgy for Casel is a sacred action through which the mysterious Calvary sacrifice of Jesus is represented but not repeated.<sup>227</sup>

When Casel affirms that liturgy makes present the redemptive works of Jesus, he is not exclusively pointing to the redemptive work of the Cross but, rather, to the totality of the life of Christ from his Incarnation to his glorification. Casel understands this totality of Christ's life in the liturgy as a "pneumatic event" rather than historical modality, in the sense that Christ's historical acts cannot be repeated since they are irreversible.<sup>228</sup> In this way, Casel differentiates between the historical Christ and the "pneumatic" Christ. The historical Christ offered Himself through the Cross, but the "pneumatic" Christ offers Himself through the Church.

For Casel, the rites and rituals of the liturgy actualize Christ's redeeming work. In the liturgical rites and rituals of the Church, the saving acts of Christ become present under the face of symbols. As a result, the sacramental worship of the Church is a mimetic depiction in which the participating community embodies the unique and significant acts of Jesus. Casel makes this clear when he writes that "the mystery is a sacred ritual action in which a saving deed is made present through the rite; the congregation, by performing the rite, takes part in the saving act, and thereby wins salvation."<sup>229</sup> In other words, the power of Calvary – the sacrifice which abolished the law of sin and death, which heals and transforms – becomes once again present in the Eucharistic sacrifice every time it is celebrated. By their participation, the faithful can partake in God's saving power, an aspect of the liturgy which, as we shall see, became also increasingly important in the works of Kilmartin. Casel uses the term *Mysteriengegenwart* (Mystery-Presence) to express the presence of Christ's salvific act in the liturgy.

Casel regards liturgy as a heavenly exchange in the sense that there is a mutual interaction between heaven and earth. The Heavenly Father is considered to be sending his gifts to the earthly human beings. Human beings, by their own ability and through grace, respond to these gifts from heaven through Christ and his mysterious presence in the liturgy. Casel viewed taking part in the liturgy as participating in the redeeming works of Christ. He believed that these Mysteries of Christ's life, from

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>227</sup> Beal suggests that Casel took this idea in particular from Origen, who relates the Christian mystery to Hellenistic mystery. Cf. Beal, "The Liturgical Legacy of Odo Casel O.S.B." 106.

<sup>228</sup> Casel calls the Church a "pneumatic Bride." Cf. Odo Casel, "Die Kirche als Braut Christi nach Schrift, Väterlehre und Liturgie," *Theologie der Zeit* 1 (1936), 66, 72, & 80-81.

<sup>229</sup> Casel, *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, 54.

incarnation to redemption, all that He was and did, have passed over into the Church's sacraments, where they continue to be enacted, embodied, and re-presented.<sup>230</sup> Central to the key idea of *Mystery Presence* is that the celebration of the liturgy in some way re-actualizes the historical events and actions of Christ, his life and death, *as well as* makes present the glory and power of the Resurrected Christ in the current moment: the Mystery effectively, in a mysterious way, makes both these aspects present in the sacramental celebrations. For Casel, the saving work of Christ becomes present and *visible* in the liturgy, visible in the sense of faith. The Mysteries re-actualized in the liturgy reveal God's divine providential plan and glory in a way that can only be appropriated by faith and that is otherwise hidden to us. Casel developed a theology of Mystery that directs us to a non-rational realization of the truth, in particular the divine, saving activity of the Trinity through the mystical body, the Church.<sup>231</sup> The liturgy is a mystery and through this mystery Christ becomes visible and efficacious. When one needs to make contact with the mystery of Christ, it can be accomplished via the liturgy because liturgy itself is the "further level of the mystery" that goes beyond time and space.<sup>232</sup>

An important question is 'how a past event can become a present event?' Edward Schillebeeckx (1914-2009), for example, criticized Casel's idea that something historical could become present at another time.<sup>233</sup> For Schillebeeckx, Casel's terminologies mean that the historical redemptive acts are present "in a spiritual fashion," in the sense that they do not really become present.<sup>234</sup>

Casel thought that in order for a Christian to be effectively conformed to Christ's passion, it is necessary that the sacraments make present the passion, as the passion contains the entire mystery of redemption.<sup>235</sup> In attempting to explain how the liturgy reveals the totality of Christ's redemption, including the sacrifice accomplished in time, Casel seems to insist on the symbolic as well as an actual representation of Christ's presence. According to him, for the people of ancient times it was not difficult to believe that "God could communicate his life through symbols." This belief is fulfilled in the Church's liturgical worship. Christ has the power to "put nature out of its exclusive rulership."<sup>236</sup> If we can believe that Christ was the Son of God, who came into this world as Logos and revealed God's glory, then it should not surprise us that when He leaves this world, He "leaves the mysteries as signs of his divine presence."<sup>237</sup> Casel asserts that the historic saving acts of Christ and his sanctifying effects present in the liturgical celebrations are not merely symbolic but actual. During the Eucharistic celebration, the act of sanctification of the species, carried out by the priest, re-enacts the sacrifice of immolation and death of Jesus through the Mystery. Accordingly, the whole scenario becomes actualized, real.

<sup>230</sup> Taken from Kenan B. Osborne, "Mystery", in *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw (London: SCM Press, 2002), 331.

<sup>231</sup> James F. White, "What Is the Liturgical Movement?," *Perkins Journal* 17, no. 2 - 3 Winter-Spring (1964), 21.

<sup>232</sup> Charles Davis, "Odo Casel and the Theology of Mysteries," *Worship* 34, no. 8 (1960), 431.

<sup>233</sup> Edward Schillebeeckx, *Christ, the Sacrament of the Encounter with God* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1963), 55-56.

<sup>234</sup> As quoted by Beal, "The Liturgical Legacy of Odo Casel O.S.B.," 118.

<sup>235</sup> Jerome M. Hall, *We Have the Mind of Christ: The Holy Spirit and Liturgical Memory in the Thought of Edward J. Kilmartin* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2001), 9.

<sup>236</sup> Casel, *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, 35.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

Without this Mystery, the sacrifice of Jesus can never be actualized throughout history and time. Casel does not imply that the Mass is a *new* sacrifice of Jesus Christ, or a repetition of Christ's sacrifice. Taking as his starting point the scriptural commentary of Cyril of Jerusalem, who said that Christians grow up not only in the likeness of Christ's death and, hence, do not "receive a likeness of salvation, but rather [receive] its reality," Casel approvingly says, "the mystery of Christ which was completed in our Lord in all reality in time is, therefore, fulfilled; fulfilled on us first of all in representative symbolic forms, not purely external ones, but rather images filled with the reality of the new life which is communicated to us through Christ, both symbolic and real, is what the ancients call mystical."<sup>238</sup> Therefore, even though the liturgy can be understood as a symbolic act, this does not diminish the reality of the Christ's saving deeds.

For Casel, "the passion is not there according to its natural manner of being, as it was historically, in *tempore*, and also not merely in *signo*, but sacramentally."<sup>239</sup> The sacramental Eucharistic sacrifice and the historical sacrifice of Christ are *indistinguishable*: "The sacrifice of the Cross and the sacrifice of the Mass are identical with regard to the Gift, the Priest and the Act. It is only in the second case that the sacrifice appears in a sacramental way."<sup>240</sup> The mystery is concrete; it is real. However, its sacramental mode is not constrained by rules of space and time. Subject to its own laws, which are abstruse to the human mind, the function of the sacraments is to keep the past saving action of Christ alive as a present and continuing reality. As a result, the enduring significance of Christ's saving work, which occurred in the past, now continues as a property of that event [sacrifice] through sacramentality. Although Casel insists that the historical and sacramental modes of Christ's sacrifice are, in reality, indistinguishable, nonetheless he does not go on to explain or qualify this bare assertion.

The historical event can never be repeated since it is irreversible. Therefore, what is made present in the liturgy is the eternal substance of the redemptive work. Casel eliminates the idea of a historical repetition of the sacrificial event.<sup>241</sup> The redemptive work now takes place in a sacramental way or in a mystery under the veils of signs and symbols in the liturgy. The mode of Christ's presence is different from the "once-for-all event", which occurred on Calvary 2000 years ago. Christ's mystery presence is something that already exists in the liturgy independent of the worshipers, with the worshipping community responding in the liturgy to Christ's presence through its faith. This led Casel to the interpretation that it is Christ Himself – and not the Church – who makes his redemptive works present in the liturgy.<sup>242</sup>

The Eucharist is the re-presentation of the historic death of Christ. In every Eucharist, the redemptive work of Christ is presented to the worshipping community in a mystical way. For Casel, *mysterium* is "a holy ritual action in which a salvific act is made present in the rite and brings salvation for the worshipping community which

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<sup>238</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>239</sup> Quoted from Hall, *We Have the Mind of Christ*, 10.

<sup>240</sup> As quoted from Rossum, "Dom Odo Casel O.S.B.," 146. For the original cf. Odo Casel, "Das Mysteriengedächtnis der Messliturgie im Lichte der Tradition," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 6, (1926), 198ff.

<sup>241</sup> Daly, *Sacrifice Unveiled*, 194-195.

<sup>242</sup> Hall, *We Have the Mind of Christ*, 11.

participates in it."<sup>243</sup> Christianity is a *mysterium* which communicates "the solemn entry of the redeemed Church into the presence of the everlasting Father through sacrifice, through perfect devotion."<sup>244</sup>

Through the liturgical worship, we not only meet the Christ at the Cross, but also the entire Christ from his incarnation to glorification. This meeting is effected through participation in the liturgical cycle: Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter, and Ordinary seasons. However, Casel warns that the Church is not engaged in a series of memorials, each following the previous one; rather, "the whole church year is ... a single mystery."<sup>245</sup> Casel writes, "Christ adapts Himself entirely through the mystery to his Church's state; and by so doing, he carries out the great saving design, the *economy*, which was not meant merely for those who walked with Him on earth, but for all generations, and all ages until the end of this world's time."<sup>246</sup>

### 1.3.2.3 Reception of Casel's Theological Perspectives

While many of his contemporaries gladly received Casel's theology of Mystery, there were scholars who had difficulties with the doctrine. Several of his theories were frequently criticized,<sup>247</sup> leading Casel to respond to some of this criticism in his book "Faith, Gnosis and Mystery." In particular, opponents of Casel's theory disagreed with his ideas on the relationship between Christianity and pagan cults. The main arguments of his opponents were: 1) Christianity is not dependent on pagan cults;<sup>248</sup>

<sup>243</sup> Quoted from John H. Miller, "The Nature and Definition of the Liturgy," *Theological Studies* 18, no. 3 (1957), 329. For the original cf. Odo Casel, "Mysterienfrömmigkeit," *Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge* 4, (1927), 104.

<sup>244</sup> Casel, *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, 13.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., 68. Also cf. Beal, "The Liturgical Legacy of Odo Casel O.S.B.," 116.

<sup>246</sup> Casel, *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, 28.

<sup>247</sup> For a detailed criticism, cf. Beal, "The Liturgical Legacy of Odo Casel O.S.B.," 98-123. Beal gives an overview of how scholars have criticized Casel. Also cf. Irénée Henry Dalmais, *Introduction to the Liturgy*, trans. Roger Capel (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961), 171; Virgil C. Funk, "The Liturgical Movement", in *The New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 698. Osborne, "Mystery", 331-332; Patrick Malloy, *Tribute from How Firm a Foundation: Leaders of the Liturgical Movement* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1990), 50-56. Available online at <http://liturgicalleaders.blogspot.nl/2011/10/odo-casel-osb.html>

<sup>248</sup> For instance, Jungmann believes that "the pagan mysteries did not, directly or indirectly, affect Christian worship in its inception." Cf. Joseph Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 152. However, there are scholars who explicitly defended Casel against such criticisms. Dalmais and Schillebeeckx defended Casel arguing that he denied any direct influence of pagan cults on Christianity, although to some extent, they admit that he had borrowed some terminologies to use for Christianity. Cf. Beal, "The Liturgical Legacy of Odo Casel O.S.B.," 104-105. Dalmais, for instance, defended him, saying "Casel certainly did not claim that the pagan mysteries exerted a direct influence on Christian worship; on the contrary, he formally rejected this hypothesis." Cf. Irénée Henry Dalmais, "The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy", in *Principles of the Liturgy* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1987). In his study of Casel's thoughts from the viewpoint of Thomistic metaphysics and sacramental theology, Dom Wegenaer reaches the conclusion that Casel was to a large extent loyal to the thought of Aquinas. Cf. Burkhard Neunheuser, "Mystery Presence," *Worship* 34, no. 3 (1960), 124. Also cf. Matthew J. O'Connell, "Review of Heilsgegenwart: Das Heilswerk Christi und die virtus divina in den Sakramenten, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Eucharistie und Taufe by Polykarpus Wegenaer," *Theological Studies* 20, no. 1 (1959), 156-157. For the original, see Polykarpus Wegenaer, *Heilsgegenwart: Das Heilswerk Christi und die virtus divina in den Sakramenten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Eucharistie und Taufe*.

2) Casel's theory is not in accordance with Aquinas; 3) Casel's 'Mysteriengegenwart' (Mystery-Presence) theory is not clear about how exactly the historical acts become present again; and 4) if the historical acts are made present in the Eucharist, it is also not clear how one should understand the concepts of immolation and oblation of Christ in relation to the Eucharist as sacrifice. Some have suggested that Casel could have explained his idea of 'Mysteriengegenwart' much better if he had used Thomistic metaphysics<sup>249</sup> instead of Platonic metaphysical thinking.<sup>250</sup> In that way, he would have possibly overcome at least some of the criticisms of his theory which is somewhat muddled in its metaphysics. For Burkhard Neunheuser, Casel was slow to provide clarifications.<sup>251</sup>

In spite of the controversies surrounding Casel's theology of the *Mysteriengegenwart*, his influence is still considerable. Recently, Pope Benedict XVI, a great admirer of his works, called him a "great theologian of the Liturgical Movement."<sup>252</sup> Indeed, Casel is widely seen as the leader of this movement, and his belief that theologically rooted guidance, through the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the sacraments, the Divine Office, as well as emphasis on the necessity of a deeper devotional life, has helped Catholics better understand sacred liturgy.

The Mystery theology of Casel has been acknowledged by many writers as a major contribution to the renewal of the theology of the liturgy. Casel's understanding of the Paschal Mystery and its correlation to the liturgy created new insights into Christian liturgical actions and their function. His theology contributed to making the connection between the saving works of Christ and the sacramental life of the Church clearer.

Casel's work on the active presence of Christ in the Eucharist has also influenced the Church's magisterial thinking to a great extent. When Pope Pius XII published the encyclical *Mediator Dei*, mixed reactions circulated within the theological scholarship of the time. Casel's critics considered it a deadly blow to his theory of Mystery-Presence and continued to criticize it. These critics held fast to the Pope's explicit statement in the encyclical that "these mysteries are ever present and active not in a vague and uncertain way as some modern writers hold, but in the way that Catholic doctrine teaches us."<sup>253</sup> Proponents of Casel's mystery theory, paradoxically, considered the encyclical as a confirmation of Casel's perspectives. They held on to the statement that followed in the same paragraph which reads, "these mysteries are shining examples of Christian perfection, as well as sources of divine grace, due to the merit and prayer of Christ. They still influence us because each mystery brings its

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Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, vol. 33 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1958), 117.

<sup>249</sup> Hall, *We Have the Mind of Christ*, 15.

<sup>250</sup> In his analysis of Casel, Avery Dulles thinks that Casel presented the theory of active presence of Christ in the liturgy in terms of a platonic manner of thinking. Cf. Avery Dulles, *Eucharist as Sacrifice* ed. Roch A. Kereszty (New York/Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 2003), 179.

<sup>251</sup> Neunheuser, "Odo Casel in Retrospect and Prospect," 490. For a detailed overview of Neunheuser's criticism, cf. pages from 500-504.

<sup>252</sup> Kenneth Baker, "J. Ratzinger 'On the Meaning of Sacrament'," *FCS Quarterly* Spring, (2011), 29. This is the translated version of Ratzinger's work entitled *Zum Begriff des Sakramentes*, originally a lecture delivered in January 1978 and published in 1979.

<sup>253</sup> Pope Pius XII, Encyclical Letter *Mediator Dei*, AAS 39 (1947) 521-595, no. 165.

own special grace for our salvation.”<sup>254</sup> Casel’s work and its effect are also evident in the document of Vatican II on the Sacred Liturgy of the Church, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Although the Council did not openly take a position at that time on the various criticisms and questions surrounding Casel’s theories, many think that the Council in its document on liturgy acknowledged Casel’s motivations and some of his fundamental theological standpoints.<sup>255</sup>

In more recent scholarship, there has been a reappraisal of Casel’s approach to the antique mystery religions which counterbalances previous misunderstandings. An example is Luke Timothy Johnson’s treatment of the analogy between pagan cults and Christianity, which he highlights in the hopes of opening the stage for further ecumenical dialogues.<sup>256</sup> In any case, Casel’s work is of great importance for our study. Kilmartin’s approach to authentic sacrifice through liturgical celebrations was based to a great extent on Casel’s insights. Our study on Kilmartin will, therefore, review some of the issues on which Casel worked. Further on I shall deal with the impact Casel had on the work and ideas of Kilmartin and also with the critique he had on some aspects of Casel’s theology.

### 1.3.2.4 Conclusion

In this section, we have reviewed two influential Catholic theologians of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: Casel and Vonier and their work on the Eucharist and its relation to sacrifice. Both have contributed much to the discussions about Eucharistic sacrifice in present-day theology. Vonier’s contribution consists in his reinterpretation of the theological debates of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, based on a direct reading of Aquinas and, in particular, his suggestion to consider Eucharistic sacrifice from a sacramental point of view which emphasizes the ‘mystical and unbloody’ sacrifice. Thus, Vonier viewed the Eucharist as a sacrament-sacrifice which involves the Calvary representation. The sacramentality of the sacrifice is what connects the unbloody sacrifice of the Eucharist with the bloody and natural sacrifice of the Cross. Thus, the Eucharist has the same effect of the Calvary sacrifice and is a perfect sacrifice. The Christ who died on the Cross is sacramentally immolated and He is truly present in the form of the bread and wine.

Casel’s studies point at a connection between Christianity and pagan mystery religions. With the letters of St. Paul as his basis, Casel was convinced that these mystery religions may help to better interpret the sacramentality of actions used in the liturgy. Casel was gravely criticised for this standpoint on mystery religions. Casel

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<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

<sup>255</sup> Vatican Council II, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, AAS 56 (1964), 97–138. See particularly no. 2 that speaks of the visible and invisible elements and also no. 6 which speaks about the saving work of Christ. Aidan Nichols expresses Casel’s influence on *Sacrosanctum Concilium* clearly in Aidan Nichols, “Odo Casel Revisited,” *Antiphon. A Journal for Liturgical Renewal* 3, no. 1 (1998), 18. This could also be confirmed by the critiques of the Society of Saint Pius X in their publication *The Problem of the Liturgical Reform*. Here critics express their disappointment on the use of Casel’s insights in the document. Cf. The Society of Saint Pius X, *The Problem of the Liturgical Reform* (Kanas City: Angelus Press, 2001), 54.

<sup>256</sup> Luke Timothy Johnson, *Among the Gentiles: Greco-Roman Religion and Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 32–49.



engaged himself with the promotion of liturgy through the Liturgical Movement of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. By one's participation in the liturgy, one is able to share in Christ's salvific activity, for this is efficaciously present in the liturgy. The power of Calvary is experienced every time the liturgy is celebrated. According to Casel, it is not just symbolical but actual and real. The Eucharist, which is a sacrifice, is not a new sacrifice but one and the same as the sacrifice which occurred on Calvary. In spite of various criticisms, Casel's theological concepts continue to influence theologians today. While some try to minimize his theological views, others promote his views.

## 1.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we discussed anthropological theories of sacrifice, as well as sacrifice as understood and debated during the Reformation period, in the Council of Trent and post-Tridentine era. We also looked at two influential 20<sup>th</sup>-century authors who tried to find a solution to these debates. We concluded that the term 'sacrifice' has a variety of anthropological theories with various meanings and functions. The sacrifice of the Mass, as debated in the Christian tradition as of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, indicates that the Reformers saw the Eucharist as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, while the Council of Trent held fast to and emphasised the propitiatory character of Eucharistic sacrifice. The discussions about the Eucharistic sacrifice, which started at the end of the Middle Ages, provoked the reaction of the Reformers. Their reaction provoked the counter-reaction of the Council of Trent. While there was a strong focus on some specific aspects of sacrifice, in particular on the killing of the victim, other aspects, such as the meal aspects, were not really brought to the foreground. Contemporary authors believe that the Council formulated essential theological insights but did not work them out. Some would say that Trent intentionally and wisely left the theological questions open. Whatever the case, this gave rise to many debates in the post-Tridentine era among Catholic theologians about the Eucharist as a sacrifice and these discussions still continue today. In the final section of this chapter, we discussed two theologians from the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Vonier and Casel, who tried to consider the questions raised by the Council of Trent from new perspectives and to develop alternatives for the old solutions. Whereas Vonier attempted to interpret sacrifice from a sacramental view, Casel stressed a liturgical outlook. Vonier tended to minimize the natural sacrifice. Casel's approach of mystery and mystery-presence was not confined to revealing sacramentality, but was focussed rather on revealing the presence of the saving acts of Christ in the liturgy.

Having these aspects as the background, we move on to the next chapter to discuss Kilmartin.

## CHAPTER TWO

# KILMARTIN'S LIFE, WORKS, AND BASIC THEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

## 2.0 INTRODUCTION

The material presented in the first half of the preceding chapter was designed to present an overall sense of sacrifice and how it has been understood in anthropological research. The subsequent review of the Eucharistic controversies since the time of the Reformation, followed by theological perspectives taken from 20<sup>th</sup>-century thinkers and their views of the sacrifice of the Eucharist serve us as a basic platform from which to approach sacrificial concepts as understood within contemporary theological scholarship. The aim of this chapter is to give the reader an overall view of Kilmartin's work and basic theological ideas. To aid our focus, this chapter is divided into two parts. The first part starts by offering a short biographical sketch of Kilmartin. We will review three scholars who had a major influence on the development of his thought, and present a chronological development of his work, focussing mainly on his systematic approach towards Eucharistic theology. In the second part (2.5),<sup>1</sup> we shall explore fundamental theological perspectives proposed by Kilmartin, which constitute the larger theoretical framework of his theology of Eucharistic sacrifice.

## 2.1 BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF EDWARD J. KILMARTIN (1923–1994)

Born in Portland, Maine, Kilmartin was educated at Cheverus High School, run by the Society of Jesus. On graduation, Kilmartin entered the Jesuit Order and was ordained a priest on June 5, 1954. Recognising his intellectual ability, his Jesuit superiors believed he would best serve the Society, as well as the Church, if assigned to the Jesuit missions in Baghdad, Iraq. In preparation, Kilmartin studied physical chemistry, gaining his MSc in 1950 at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Massachusetts, completed a one-year course at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and for a brief time taught in chemistry and mathematics at Fairfield College Preparatory School, Connecticut.

In preparation for his ordination to the priesthood, Kilmartin received formal training in theology from 1951 to 1955, and was then sent to the Gregorian University in Rome for his graduate studies in dogmatic theology from 1956 to 1958, where Kilmartin defended his S.T.D dissertation.<sup>2</sup> The dissertation centered on ecumenism.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 83

<sup>2</sup> Michael A. Fahey, "In Memoriam: Edward J. Kilmartin, S.J. (1923-1994)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 61, no. 1 (1995), 5-35. This article of Fahey offers a detailed biography as well as a complete bibliography of Kilmartin's life and works from 1958 to 1994. Most of the information provided here concerning his life and influence are based on this article unless otherwise noted.

and a section of it was published in 1958 in *Analecta Gregoriana*.<sup>3</sup> During his time at the Gregorian University, Kilmartin was strongly influenced by William A. van Roo, S.J., a sacramental theologian who encouraged him to study the works of Karl Rahner (1904-1984).

In 1958, Kilmartin took up what he assumed would be a temporary appointment at Weston College, when one of the professors fell ill. However, Weston College would be a turning point in Kilmartin's career, making him a pre-eminent sacramental and liturgical theologian. In Michael Fahey's words, Weston College became Kilmartin's "most permanent place." Kilmartin's initial years of teaching at Weston were marked by his passion for the spiritual formation of seminarians and priests. He used his own copious notes from philosophical, philological, biblical, historical, and theological sources, and from whatever commentaries were available to him, to enhance the theology of the educational materials used by the seminary. As his time at Weston progressed, Kilmartin's stature grew; he was asked to train theological students at other universities, such as Marquette University, Creighton University, the University of San Francisco, and in 1960-61 he was appointed Dean of Weston College.

In addition to his work at Weston, Kilmartin also acted as general editor of *New Testament*<sup>4</sup> Abstracts, consultant editor for *Theology Digest* in 1971, *Emmanuel* from 1975 to 1981, and *New Catholic World* from 1974 to 1981, as well as many other theological magazines. Kilmartin's works drew the attention of a number of theological institutions and, as a result, Kilmartin was awarded prestigious research scholarships for the University of Würzburg and the University of Tübingen. At Würzburg he researched the Eucharistic writings of Johannes Betz while at Tübingen he concentrated his attention on modern theological approaches to the Eucharist, the fruits of which later appeared in his publications.<sup>5</sup> On leaving Weston, Kilmartin moved to the University of Notre Dame in 1975 where, as a full time professor, he dedicated himself to the responsibilities of teaching, advising, and writing, eventually rising to tenured professor as the director of their doctoral programme before moving to the *Pontificio Istituto Orientale* in Rome in 1985, where he served as a professor of Liturgical Studies until shortly before his death in 1994. Kilmartin's professorship in Rome was rewarding; he was able to edit some of his works into one volume, eventually published as *Christian Liturgy: Theology and Practice*.<sup>6</sup> A second volume was published posthumously as *Eucharist in the West*, edited by Daly, who was formally approved by the Jesuit Order to bring together Kilmartin's entire work on Eucharistic sacrifice.<sup>7</sup> Kilmartin died in Boston, Massachusetts on June 16, 1994.

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<sup>3</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *Eschatology and the Evanston Congress: A Study of Developments in Eschatology in the Twentieth Century and Its Influence on the Theology of the World Council of Churches* (Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University, 1958). A section of the dissertation was published as Edward J. Kilmartin, *Eschatology and the Evanston Congress*, Excerpta (Rome: 1958).

<sup>4</sup> Here after the New Testament will take the abbreviated form NT.

<sup>5</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," *Theological Studies* 32, no. 2 (1971). In this article, Kilmartin deals extensively with themes such as the concept of Eucharistic sacrifice and its relation to ecumenism, the life of the Trinity, and Eucharistic ministry etc. A good number of modern theologians have been cited in this particular text by Kilmartin.

<sup>6</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I: Theology and Practice* (Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, 1988).

<sup>7</sup> Robert J. Daly, "New Developments in the Theology of Sacrifice," *Liturgical Ministry* 18, no. 1 (2009), 49.

leaving behind an exceptional body of work on Eucharistic Theology, marked by a profound theological consistency.

## 2.2 IMPACT OF THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

The 20<sup>th</sup> century is regarded as a period of growing dialogue between Roman Catholic and non-Roman Catholic faith communities throughout the world, as Christians made strong attempts to come into closer relationship with each other, not only through co-operative activities but also via lively theological discussions regarding sacramental theology perspectives and the liturgy.

Ecumenism is at the very heart of Kilmartin's theology. According to him, it had tremendous significance for the life of the Church.<sup>8</sup> Even in his early writings we can see that ecumenism was already a vital theme. This also becomes evident from his S.T.D dissertation he wrote and defended at the Gregorian in Rome. Fahey reports that Kilmartin was initially influenced by Charles Boyer S.J. (1884 – 1980), a Jesuit pioneer in the field and a professor of ecumenism at the Gregorian University, Rome. Kilmartin may have received from him ideas and inspirations for his dissertation.<sup>9</sup>

Kilmartin maintained an essential relationship with the ecumenical movement throughout his writings and his theological inventiveness and openness quickly brought him great respect within the movement. He was elected Executive Secretary of the Roman Catholic membership of the Orthodox-Roman Catholic consultation in the USA for over a decade. While engaged in his work at different universities, Kilmartin continued to develop his ecumenical thinking.<sup>10</sup>

Kilmartin was fascinated by ecumenical dialogues between the churches. Taking concepts from the famous *Lima* text, approved by the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches in 1982, Kilmartin believed that churches, in their authority, should provide sound doctrine through which misunderstandings could be identified, allowing a new kind of intrinsic relationship with the reformed churches to be established.<sup>11</sup> Kilmartin thought that one of the main causes of disagreements between the churches was the existence of differing understandings of Eucharistic theology, more explicitly of the concept of sacrifice.<sup>12</sup> A more general underlying reason for disunity among the churches for Kilmartin was the issue he termed the "reception of the views of the other."

In 1979, Kilmartin published a book entitled *Towards Reunion: The Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches*. The book explores in great detail Roman Catholic–Orthodox relations, particularly international dialogues between the two, and

<sup>8</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Visions of the Future of Ecumenism," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26, no. 4 winter (1981), 305.

<sup>9</sup> Fahey, "In Memoriam: Edward J. Kilmartin, S.J. (1923-1994)," 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>11</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Reception in History: An Ecclesiological Phenomenon and Its Significance," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 21, no. 1 winter (1984), 34. Also cf. "Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry," Faith and Order Paper 111 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982), vii-x.

<sup>12</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue on the Eucharist," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 13, no. 2 spring (1976), 213.

examines the major issues between the two churches. Kilmartin begins the work by marking out the "already agreed statements" between the two and treats Eastern Orthodoxy with a fairness which had not appeared in previous Catholic documents.<sup>13</sup>

In his article of 1981, "Visions of the Future of Ecumenism," Kilmartin emphasises the need for a "spirit of ecumenism" among members of the churches, for which "internal conversion" is a necessary condition. He suggests that the need for renewal in this area must first be considered by Church leaders.<sup>14</sup> Despite recognising significant developments made by theologians since the Second Vatican Council, he insists that the circumstances demand practical action, requiring the adoption of an ecumenical policy which would bring forth communion, and believing that the Roman Catholic Church's ecumenical approach should be based on a realistic evaluation, i.e. a policy which remains not merely in the books, but is experienced by all as it progresses.<sup>15</sup>

Kilmartin's 1984 article on "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the Sanctification of the Eucharistic Elements" continues to highlight the problem of ecumenical dialogue.<sup>16</sup> The article begins with an investigation into the many ecumenical statements prepared and approved by various churches in collaboration with the Catholic Church.

Kilmartin explicitly states that consensus between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches on the Eucharist would be a vital contribution to the debate as this is an important theological issue with implications for the broader ecumenical context. He writes:

If these two Churches are able to arrive at a common understanding and way of speaking about the sanctification of the bread and wine, it could provide the impetus for a much wider consensus among the Churches whose Eucharistic theology partially originates in one or other of these older traditions.<sup>17</sup>

Although Kilmartin covers many themes in his theological reflections, some particularly reveal his creativity in developing theological thoughts that may contribute to a constructive ecumenical dialogue. Many of Kilmartin's reviews and articles outline his theological thoughts on ecumenism.<sup>18</sup> Many of the articles show

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<sup>13</sup> See Edward J. Kilmartin, *Toward Reunion: The Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 1-118.

<sup>14</sup> Kilmartin, "Visions of the Future of Ecumenism," 305-307.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 313.

<sup>16</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the Sanctification of the Eucharistic Elements," *Theological Studies* 45, no. 2 (1984), 225-53.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 225.

<sup>18</sup> I have counted over ten such contributions, many of them dealing with the documents of the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Churches. Edward J. Kilmartin, "Reception of the Eucharist at Ecumenical Marriages," *Fellowship: Ecumenical Commission of the Archdiocese of Boston, Mass* 5, no. 7 (1969), 61-65; Edward J. Kilmartin, "What Is Ecumenical Dialogue?," *NCW News Release* May, (1975); Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue on the Eucharist: Catholic Response (Response to M. Aghiorghousis, 'The Holy Eucharist in Ecumenical Dialogue: An Orthodox View')." *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 13, no. 2 spring (1976), 211-213; Edward J. Kilmartin, "Orthodox and Roman Catholic Consultation in the U.S.A.," *New Catholic World* 220, (1977), 179-180 & 185-186; Edward J. Kilmartin, "Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue in the United States", in *Orthodox Theology and Diakonia: Trends and Prospects. Essays in Honor of His Eminence Archbishop Lakovos on the*

his deep interest in the ecumenical unity of the churches and reveal the influence ecumenical theology had on him. Kilmartin's liturgical theology, if read in depth, reveals his desire to construct a theology which takes into account also the beliefs and traditions of the other churches. This said, we proceed to further investigate other influences on his writings.

## 2.3 INFLUENCE OF OTHER AUTHORS

Although many scholars such as Johannes Betz,<sup>19</sup> Brian McNamara,<sup>20</sup> Schillebeeckx, and Bernard Lonergan (1904-1984), to name but a few, contributed to the works of Kilmartin during his thirty years of research, there were three authors who were particularly influential on his work and, in particular, played an important role in the development of his theology of sacrifice. These authors are Odo Casel, Karl Rahner, and, in the latter phase of his life, Cesare Giraudo.<sup>21</sup> Kilmartin was convinced that the theological views of these scholars might offer potential responses to questions for which the Church had been searching, particularly in the field of Eucharistic theology and, as we shall show further on, one can clearly perceive how their concepts are reflected in Kilmartin's writings. That is why I will deal here with the impact these authors and their ideas had on Kilmartin.

### 2.3.1 ODO CASEL

Reading Kilmartin's work, one quickly discerns Casel's influence, whose ideas we have already dealt with in the first chapter, on Kilmartin's methods and ideas. A remarkable similarity can be perceived with regard to the general pattern of their approaches. Some of the theological arguments traced in Kilmartin's work clearly indicate that he builds on the works of Casel and attempts to create a clearer picture of what Casel was trying to convey with his mystery theology.

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*Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. D.J. Constantelos (Brookline, Mass: 1981), 339-354; Edward J. Kilmartin, "A Roman Catholic Response", in *Sacraments as God's Self Giving*, ed. J.F. White (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1983); Edward J. Kilmartin, "A Catholic Response to Lima 1982," *Centro Pro Unione, Bulletin [Rome]* Spring, no. 27 (1985), 8-17; Edward J. Kilmartin, "A Catholic Response to Lima 1982," *One in Christ* 21, no. 3 (1985), 204-216; Edward J. Kilmartin, "Faith and Baptism: Sacramental Theology in the Lima Document", in *Catholic Perspectives on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry: A Study Commissioned by the Catholic Theological Society of America*, ed. Michael A. Fahey (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986), 113-134 & 135-162; Edward J. Kilmartin, "Culture and the Praying Church: The Particular Liturgy of the Individual Church", in *Canadian Studies in Liturgy*, ed. National Liturgical Office (Ottawa: Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1990).

<sup>19</sup> Fahey, "In Memoriam: Edward J. Kilmartin, S.J. (1923-1994)," 8-9. The influence of Betz on Kilmartin is particularly evident in his studies at the University of Würzburg where he investigated Betz's Eucharistic theology which had both scriptural and patristic roots. This was exactly the sort of systematic theology that Kilmartin was fascinated with.

<sup>20</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, xviii. Daly believes that Brian McNamara endowed Kilmartin with terminology and conceptual backgrounds with which to examine the underlying paradigm or methodology which unveiled an enhanced wealth of the liturgical theology.

<sup>21</sup> Raymond Moloney, "Lonergan on Eucharistic Sacrifice," *Theological Studies* 62, no. 1 (2001), 60; also cf. Cesare Giraudo, *Eucaristia per la Chiesa: Prospettive teologiche sull'eucaristia a partire dalla "lex orandi"*, Aloisiana (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1989), 14-26.

When Kilmartin began his theological research as a young professor, Casel's theory, especially with regard to its understanding of the relationship between the Calvary saving act of Jesus and its effects on the liturgical celebrations, was still regarded as controversial by his critics, even though *Mediator Dei* had given evidence of a growing acceptance in the Roman Catholic Church,<sup>22</sup> and Casel continued to be a valued source of inspiration for many theologians. The Second Vatican Council had just ended, and the Council had showed great appreciation for the works of Casel, particularly by integrating part of his theological reflections into the Constitution on the liturgy. Kilmartin continued Casel's research, using various other sources such as the works of Gottlieb Söhngen (1892-1971), Victor Warnach, and those of McNamara. One could say that the *mystery* theology and the controversy surrounding it became a focal point for Kilmartin who was particularly fascinated by the saving deeds of Christ in the liturgy as proposed by Casel. Kilmartin's interest in Casel's theology is demonstrated not only in his publications but also in the simple notes and translations found in his archives, gathered with the intention to formulate his own, genuine, systematic theology of the Eucharist in response to the *mystery* controversy, as well as various other controversies that had arisen time and time again over the history of the Church.<sup>23</sup>

In several of his articles, Kilmartin addresses the controversy over Casel's work.<sup>24</sup> "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy" deals exclusively with the teachings of the Church in its response to this controversy through the encyclicals *Mediator Dei* and *Mystici Corporis*.<sup>25</sup> In *The Eucharist in the West*, Kilmartin deals extensively with the various issues that were addressed within the controversy and responds to them.<sup>26</sup> Kilmartin was very aware that Casel had developed his *mystery* theology in line with the thoughts of the Greek Fathers,<sup>27</sup> and in seeking to clarify and defend the teachings of Casel, Kilmartin began to investigate the whole issue of the presence of the saving acts of Christ in the celebration of the Eucharist. Taking his lead from the theology of Söhngen,<sup>28</sup> he went one step further than Casel. While Casel presupposed an objective presence (as mystery) of the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist, Söhngen focussed not only on the sacrifice of Christ but also on the effects it had upon the assembly participating in the Eucharist.<sup>29</sup> This was to become a cornerstone of Kilmartin's theology.

<sup>22</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 421. Kilmartin reports that the encyclical does positively take the insights of Casel regarding the active presence of Christ in the liturgy. However, the Pope reserves himself from some of his theories.

<sup>23</sup> Hall, *We Have the Mind of Christ*, xvi – xviii.

<sup>24</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 407-409; 450-452. Here in these pages Kilmartin makes reference to the *mysterion* controversy.

<sup>25</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," *Emmanuel* 82, (1975).

<sup>26</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 339-383.

<sup>27</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Sacraments: The Gestures of Christ, by D.O'callaghan, (New York, 1964)," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (1965), 285.

<sup>28</sup> Kilmartin's theological leap to Söhngen could be justified by Wolfhard Pannenberg's [1928–2014] observation. He offers an intimation of the superiority of Söhngen's proposals over Casel's stating, "Söhngen especially has taken up and deepened Casel's insight along the lines of an actual presence of Christ at the celebration of the Eucharist that takes place by the *memoria passionis* and that is mediated by the work of the Spirit" in: Wolfhart Pannenberg, "Systematic Theology", in *Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Wm.B.Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1998), 306.

<sup>29</sup> Taken from Manfred Hauke, "The Basic Structure (Grundgestalt) of the Eucharistic Celebration According to Joseph Ratzinger", in *Benedict XVI and the Roman Missal*, ed. J. Rutherford and J.

It could be said that Kilmartin's works on the sacraments and the liturgy are a further, critical development of Casel's *mystery* theology. It is as though Kilmartin uses x-ray to view what lies beneath Casel's proposals. However, it should be added that, in this way, he also discovered a number of ambiguous assumptions and distinctions to which we shall return later on. For now, it will suffice to note that Kilmartin expanded on many of the same ideas as Casel, whilst employing a different tone, method, and approach and developing an inclusive and consistent theology of liturgy, which gives a central place to the Trinitarian theology of God with emphasis on the participation of human beings in the life of the Triune God.<sup>30</sup>

### 2.3.2 KARL RAHNER

Rahner's influence on Kilmartin is visible particularly in his theology of the self-communication of God in the Eucharist.<sup>31</sup> Kilmartin took up Rahner's famous Christological expression, the "self-communication of God." Rahner wanted to explain the movement of grace, or the base of its potentiality, via analysis of human existence. With the concept of self-communication of God, Rahner argues for the divinization of the humanity of Christ. By extension, this means that if it is possible for the human Jesus to communicate and be united to the divine Son of God's incarnation, then there must be a way by which a *hypostatic* union with the divine Son of God can be actualized for every other human being, since human beings are created as *capax Dei*, capable of experiencing the divine God in a self-transcending sensibility.<sup>32</sup> Human beings can be taken up into the very life of God because there is always this divine potential within human beings.<sup>33</sup> For Rahner, the human person is understood as one who is created for the self-communication of God. Kilmartin's works display sequence and structure that are similar to that of the works of Rahner. His interpretation of the Trinity, human nature, and grace through sacraments, for example, are rooted in Rahnerian theology.

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O'Brien (Dublin: Four Court Press, 2013), 7. For the original version cf. Gottlieb Söhngen, *Das sakramentale Wesen des Messopfers* (Essen: 1946), 38.

<sup>30</sup> Kilmartin himself makes this clear: "Liturgical celebrations are a medium of participation of the faithful in the economic Trinity, a medium of Trinitarian self-communication. Liturgy is above all, the work of the Trinity in its execution and content." Cf. Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 102.

<sup>31</sup> For the treatment of Rahner's theology of the Trinity, besides reading the original, I also rely on the secondary sources from authors such as Herwi Rikhof, "The Current Renaissance of the Theology of the Trinity: A Reconstruction," *Bijdragen: International journal in Philosophy and Theology* 70, no. 4 (2009), 423-457; David Lincicum, "Economy and Immanence: Karl Rahner's Doctrine of the Trinity," *EuroJTh* 14, no. 2 (2005), 111-118; Dennis W. Jowers, "An Exposition and Critique of Karl Rahner's Axiom: 'The Economic Trinity Is the Immanent Trinity and Vice Versa'," *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 15, (2004), 165-200; Ted Peters, *God as Trinity: Relationality and Temporality in Divine Life* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1993), pages especially from 96-1: 2.

<sup>32</sup> The term *capax Dei* originally comes from St. Augustine's concept of the Trinity. Here Augustine says, "the mind is the image of God, in that it is *capable of Him* and can be partaker of Him." Cf. St. Augustine, "The Trinity," XIV: 8. For a detailed view of this proposal refer Cesare Giraudo, "Recognition of the Orthodoxy of the Most Ancient Eucharistic Prayer," *Ephrem's Theological Journal* 11, no. 2 (2007), 105-120.

<sup>33</sup> Karl Rahner, *On the Theology of the Incarnation*, Theological Investigations, vol. 4: More Recent Writings (London: Longman & Todd, 1966), 110.



At the heart of Rahner's theological reflection is a clear vision of the world as the deeply concealed arena of God's self-communication in Jesus and the Spirit. In Rahner's theological view, a primary characteristic of God the Father is the guiding of all of history toward the achievement of his purpose: the communion of humanity within the Trinity. With this concept, Rahner opens a door to the possibility of identifying God as God in Himself with God in his relationship with other human beings, creating a shift in the theological outlook of the economy of salvation in the minds of Western scholars.<sup>34</sup>

Rahner maintains that the redemption of human beings involves a great Trinitarian mystery. The doctrine of the Trinity is absolutely fundamental to every Christian believer.<sup>35</sup> Redemption of humanity may only be achieved by the believing community through sharing in the very life of the Trinity, which is a great mystery in itself.<sup>36</sup>

God is to be understood from the way He deals with the world in salvation history. In his texts on the Trinity, Rahner criticises the Western Trinitarian formulation, which emphasises the *oneness* of God. According to Rahner, Western theology, following Augustine, has isolated the One God (*De Deo Uno*) from the Triune God (*De Deo Trino*). Claiming to side with pre-Augustinian theology and opting for an approach favoured by the Greek Fathers, Rahner advocates openness to the *three-ness* of God.<sup>37</sup> God is not essentially One and then, next, relatively Three; He is relational within Himself, as well as towards the world outside, relating to the world in a threefold manner rather than as a divine 'whole'. According to Rahner many believers are only strict monotheists. He says, "despite their Orthodox confirmation of the Trinity... [believers] are in their practical life, almost mere monotheists."<sup>38</sup> For the sake of clarity, the *three-ness* Rahner speaks of is not to be taken as "three consciousnesses" within God, but as one consciousness which lives in a threefold way.<sup>39</sup> Rahner does not reject the idea of the *oneness*, but recognizes the oneness in each person in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

In his exploration of God, Rahner offered the famous *axiom* "the economic Trinity is the immanent Trinity and vice versa" although Rahner himself says, "I do not know exactly when and by whom this theological axiom was formulated for the first time."<sup>40</sup> What is the difference between immanent Trinity and economic Trinity? Immanent, *ad intra*, is God as He is within the Trinity. Economic, *ad extra*, refers to the actions outside the Trinity, in creation and salvation history. Although commonly accepted, the axiom came under severe criticism because of the use of the phrase

<sup>34</sup> Peters, *God as Trinity*, 97.

<sup>35</sup> Lincicum, "Economy and Immanence: Karl Rahner's Doctrine of the Trinity," *Economy and Immanence*, 111-112.

<sup>36</sup> Karl Rahner, *The Trinity*, trans. Joseph Donceel (New York: Herder & Herder, 1997), 46.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-35.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 10; also Gregory Havrilak, "Karl Rahner and the Greek Trinity," *Sr Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1990), 61-62.

<sup>39</sup> Rahner, *The Trinity*, 107.

<sup>40</sup> As quoted from Dennis W. Jowers, *The Trinitarian Axiom of Karl Rahner: The Economic Trinity Is the Immanent Trinity and Vice Versa* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2006), 87. For the original, cf. Karl Rahner, *Oneness and Threefoldness of God in Discussion with Islam*, trans. Edward Quinn, *Theological Investigations*, vol. 18 (New York: Crossroad, 1983), 114.

'vice versa':<sup>41</sup> if God in relation to humankind is the same as God in relation to Godself, then whatever one says of the Son – and the Spirit – in connection to the economy of redemption should also be said of the Son in connection to the immanent life within God. In that case, the missions and the processions of God are to be considered as one and the same. This also leads to theological difficulties in considering the proper missions of the Son and the Holy Spirit. On the one hand, this axiom might appear to make God struggle to find meaning outside of history and the world, but, on the other hand, the statement could also be interpreted as reducing God as He is to the world or to humanity. The axiom adopted by Rahner, if taken at face value, means that the Infinite God has made known Himself in and through the world but also that He cannot be isolated from his relationship to the world.<sup>42</sup>

Rahner is optimistic about human beings' possibilities of sharing in the inner life of God. However, the separation of the two treatises, *oneness* and *three-ness*, Rahner believes, has led to the neglect of the latter and an unjustifiable emphasis on the former, which needs to be re-balanced. Rahner attempts to do this by focussing on salvation history. The Trinity is the mystery of salvation and there is some connection between humankind and the mystery of salvation. Rahner believes that through an experience of salvation history a human person can gain access to the mystery of the Triune God, who is attached to humankind; it is in and through humankind that we understand the mystery of salvation.<sup>43</sup> So the mystery of salvation is, in fact, the ultimate goal of humankind and for Rahner it becomes the starting point for experiencing God and his inner life in an efficient way.<sup>44</sup>

According to traditional views, in order for an individual to grasp the truth about the three persons of God, God in his goodness had to reveal this mystery. Rahner states that, "every real intervention of God in God's world is always only the becoming historical and ... concrete of that 'intervention' in which God as the transcendental ground of the world has from the outset embedded Godself in the world as its self-communicating ground."<sup>45</sup>

According to Rahner, although the persons within the Trinity differ from one another,<sup>46</sup> the Father offers Himself in "absolute self communication through the Son and in the Holy Spirit." Such an affirmation is an assertion about "God as He is in Himself." This affirmation of One God in Three persons can never be altered, since this is the manner in which God planned to reveal Himself to humankind. This revelation of the Trinity manifests God by his own entire self-giving. These "persons" of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not mysterious entities, but the Triune God

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<sup>41</sup> While Kilmartin points to some scholars (Yves Congar 1904-1995) who have added important qualifications to this idea of 'vice versa', he also names a few, such as William J. Hill (d. 2001) and Piet Schoonenberg, (1911-1999) who objected to this idea. Cf. Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 115. For an analysis of Rahner's position, cf. Rikhof, "The Current Renaissance of the Theology of the Trinity," 425.

<sup>42</sup> Rahner, *The Trinity*, 10-35.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>44</sup> Rikhof, "The Current Renaissance of the Theology of the Trinity," 428.

<sup>45</sup> Karl Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Idea of Christianity*, trans. William V. Dych (New York: Crossroad, 1978), 87.

<sup>46</sup> There are objections to Rahner's understanding of 'persons' in God. The definition of persons, for instance, Havrilak says, is "one of the weaknesses of Rahner's doctrine of the Trinity." Rahner himself is aware of the problem. Cf. Havrilak, "Karl Rahner and the Greek Trinity," 62.

constantly communicating God Himself.<sup>47</sup> However, a closer examination of the Father's communicating predominantly through the Son in a sense marginalizes the role of the Holy Spirit. Rahner gives attention to the role of the Spirit within the framework of Christology,<sup>48</sup> but the point is that, for him, the communication of the Holy Spirit is unimaginable without the incarnation of the Son. The absolute mystery is revealed to us "only by Christ."<sup>49</sup>

In Rahner's theology, no distinction could ever exist between God as He Himself is [the immanent Trinity] and God as He communicates to us [economic Trinity]. This means that as human beings we can understand the identity of God who has revealed Himself to us in Christ, the Logos, and that failure to understand the identity of the (and Holy Spirit) would mean failure to understand the identity of God Himself.<sup>50</sup> The Father communicates his entire Self through the Logos, who is Jesus Christ. The revelation of Christ is simply the revelation of God Himself.<sup>51</sup> The Holy Spirit is to be identified with the reciprocal love that exists between the Father and his Logos.<sup>52</sup>

In contrast to those who argue for the need of a revelation in the sense of an embodiment of information or proposition truths for the understanding of the Triune God, Rahner puts emphasis on the encounter with God through his self-communication, particularly in the Church. One could therefore ask, 'Is God's self-communication, according to Rahner, limited only to the people within the Church?' The plain answer is no. For Rahner, the Incarnation of Jesus, the Son of God,

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<sup>47</sup> Rahner, *The Trinity*, 80.

<sup>48</sup> This is an interesting point to note because, unlike Rahner who speaks for a high Logos-Christology, Kilmartin opts for a purely Spirit-Christology. Some of Rahner's critics do not feel comfortable with the way he maintains the relationship between the humanity and divinity of Jesus. For instance, Patrick Burke describes this as the "key question" of Rahner's Christology. Burke wonders, "[H]ow the redemptive act achieved in Jesus was simultaneously an act of the Logos, as the ontological free subject, and also a free, human act." Cf. Patrick Burke, *Reinterpreting Rahner: A Critical Study of His Major Themes* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002), 157. Burke concludes that Rahner's position is vague. Kilmartin, too, would wrestle with this concept in his interpretation of the human encounter of God. Kilmartin emphasises not only the Christological but also the pneumatological dimension of encounter with God. So, in a way, Kilmartin discussed what Rahner did not say, although some authors believe he speaks inherently of a highly complexed Spirit-Christology. Cf. Travis Ables, "The Grammar of Pneumatology in Barth and Rahner: A Reconsideration," *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 11, no. 2 (2009), 208-224. Rahner does not explicitly use the term 'Spirit-Christology' in his works, however, in one of his articles 'Aspect of European Theology', he speaks about the possibility of giving priority to 'Pneumatology'. He suggests that Pneumatology might come before Christology, whereas until then Christology had preceded it in Western theology. Cf. Karl Rahner, *Aspects of European Theology*, Theological Investigations, vol. 21 (New York: Crossroad, 1988), 97. The pneumatological stress is vividly seen in Pope John Paul II's Encyclical *Dominum et vivificantem*, released just few years after Rahner's death, which invites the Church "to go further back, to embrace the whole of the action of the Holy Spirit even before Christ— from the beginning, throughout the world, and especially in the economy of the Old Covenant." Cf. Pope John Paul II, *Dominum et Vivificantem*, AAS 78 (1986), 809-900, no. 1. Having said this, one should also remember that Kilmartin's Spirit-Christology in fact begins with Rahner's Logos-Christology.

<sup>49</sup> As quoted from Lincicum, "Economy and Immanence: Karl Rahner's Doctrine of the Trinity," 113.

<sup>50</sup> C.E. Braaten, *Our Naming of God: Problems and Prospects of God-Talk Today* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1981), 4.

<sup>51</sup> Karl Rahner, *Theological Investigations*, vol. IV (New York: Seabury, 1974), 93.

<sup>52</sup> Karl Rahner, *Theological Investigations*, trans. Cornelius Ernst, vol. I (London: Darton: Longman & Todd, 1961), 96.

embraces the whole world. God is "at work in the world both before and after the coming of Christ, even outside the visible confines of the people of God."<sup>53</sup>

However, faith in God and openness to the transforming power of the Holy Spirit is central to God's self-communication. The Church, for Rahner, stands as an adequate symbol of salvation where God gives Himself to the believing community through Jesus in the sacraments. Jesus the God-man is the sign of God's personal communion with humanity. He states:

In Jesus Christ and in His presence, that is, in the Church, God offers himself to man in such a way that by God's act of grace this offer continues to be definitively bound up with the acceptance of this offer by the history of the world's freedom. From this perspective the Church is the sign and the historical manifestation of the victorious success of God's self-communication.<sup>54</sup>

In the Church's sacramental celebration of the Eucharist, God's self-communication in Christ is fully made known under the characteristics of sacrifice and meal. These two significant features remain always together. Separating them from one another would result in confining the fullness of God's self-communication. The Eucharist reveals the mystery of God's self-communication to the believing community; therefore, it cannot simply be compared to the other sacraments. This statement, "follows from the real presence of the Body of Christ; from the fact that here there is not only a sacrament but also the sacrifice of the new covenant; from the teaching that sees the Eucharist as the source of the other sacraments."<sup>55</sup> Rahner relates the sacrifice and meal concept also with 'thanksgiving' to God who accepted the Calvary sacrifice and raised Jesus from the dead. Since the Calvary mystery is made present in the Eucharist through Word and symbol, both are one and the same mystery of the salvific life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. Therefore, the Eucharist is the central sacramental action in the life of the Church. However, as Kilmartin observes, Rahner is critical about Trent's treatment of the sacrificial character of Mass.<sup>56</sup>

For Rahner, in the Eucharist, the incarnate Logos of God is substantially present; the absolute assertion of the entire mystery of redemption occurs in the Eucharist. Rahner argues that one cannot come to terms fully with the present unless it is understood from a two-fold extrapolation: 'backwards', by which one becomes consciously aware of the effect of the past in the present, and 'forwards', where one extrapolates the future from the current reality. Rahner identifies this backward extrapolation as *anamnesis*. He uses this term not only to designate the retention of events from past occurrences but also to living the past in the present. The significance of the *anamnesis* in the EPs lies in the fact that it reminds the believers of the sacrificial act of Calvary in which the Son of God, who transcends space and time, offers Himself

<sup>53</sup> Joseph H. Wong, "Anonymous Christians: Karl Rahner's Pneuma-Christocentrism and an East-West Dialogue," *Theological Studies* 55, no. 4 (1994), 636.

<sup>54</sup> Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith*, 412.

<sup>55</sup> Karl Rahner, *The Church and the Sacraments*, trans. W.J. O'Hara, Quaestiones Disputatae 9 (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963), 82.

<sup>56</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 178.

through his death on the cross for the redemption of humankind and is sacramentally made present among the believing community.<sup>57</sup>

Since in the Eucharist the salvific life and death of Christ and his second coming are revealed and manifested, there is the hope of ultimate redemption in the final glory. This is the forward extrapolation. Consequently, for Rahner, the Eucharist is the absolute exemplification or self-realization of the *ecclesia*, which is described as sacrament. Hence, it is the source of all other sacraments.<sup>58</sup> As posited by Rahner, the effect of participation in the Eucharistic life is personal as well as social and ecclesial. It is personal in the sense that one is able to individually participate in the life of God through Jesus. It is social and ecclesial in the sense that the salvific will of God is made "present, tangible, and visible" by the believers united as one in the Church through the Spirit.<sup>59</sup>

A comparison of Rahner's theology with Kilmartin's demonstrates that Kilmartin follows Rahner closely when he describes human beings as being embodied Spirits.<sup>60</sup> Kilmartin suggests that we, as profane creatures, need the grace of God to be ultimately united to our God-head. For Rahner, human beings become potentially holy when embodying God. Kilmartin states that, "the profane is always potentially holy if its deepest meaning is penetrated."<sup>61</sup> This holiness for created beings comes through the sacraments. Like Rahner, Kilmartin believes that the sacraments are a means of grace. In his essay, "Theology of Sacraments: Towards a New Understanding of the Chief Rites of the Church of Jesus Christ," Kilmartin subtitles a small section, the "Sacramental Nature of the Cosmos". Here, Kilmartin writes that the Christian sacraments, "were valued as particular concentrations of the sacramental nature of all creation. They were interpreted as the highest manifestations of God's presence in the whole of the cosmos."<sup>62</sup> In Rahnerian fashion, Kilmartin notes that individual communion with the Triune God is possible in Christ through the Church in his sacraments. It is for this reason that Christ founded the sacraments, by which a relationship with God is maintained.

Kilmartin is possibly most systematic in his argument of how the self-communication of the Triune God occurs in the liturgical *anamnesis*. He endeavours to show how a theology of liturgy might be seen as a theology of the economic Trinity. Thus, Kilmartin initially presupposes the need for a Trinitarian method. He writes, "The Word is the 'real symbol' of the Father. A real symbol exists when there is unity of being between the symbol and the symbolized."<sup>63</sup> The expression of such a theology connects Trinitarian Christology, anthropology, ecclesiology, and pneumatology.

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<sup>57</sup> George Vass, *The Sacrament of the Future: An Evaluation of Karl Rahner's Concept of the Sacraments and the End of Time* (Leominster, England: Gracewing, 2005), 43–52, in particular page 45.

<sup>58</sup> Karl Rahner, "The Word and the Eucharist", in *Theological Investigations* (London: Darton: Longman & Todd, 1974), 281–282.

<sup>59</sup> Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith*, 426–427.

<sup>60</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 19.

<sup>61</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments: Toward a New Understanding of the Chief Rites of the Church of Jesus Christ", in *General Introduction: Alternative Futures for Worship I*, ed. R.A. Duffy (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1987), 143.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>63</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 106.

In conclusion, one can say that Kilmartin clearly echoes the theological insights of Rahner, particularly in his composition of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice. Kilmartin echoes almost the entire structure of Rahner's thinking. Although his approach to the concept of sacrifice differs somewhat from Rahner's,<sup>64</sup> his starting point is Rahner's unique insight in speaking of a Triune God as the basis of all symbolic realism and efficacy. Like Rahner, who starts "from below,"<sup>65</sup> Kilmartin also begins with the human existential situation, which requires an encounter with God in order to be united with Him; this encounter occurs in the sacraments, especially in the sacrament of the Eucharist. Taking his lead from Rahner, Kilmartin reinterprets the meaning of sacrifice, formulating an authentic sacrifice of the Eucharist in Trinitarian style. Like Rahner, Kilmartin emphasises the personal, social and ethical side of liturgical celebrations. It may be concluded that Kilmartin developed his theology of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice by building on perspectives proposed by Rahner, shedding fresh light on sacramental signs and their anthropological functions in view of a Trinitarian theology.

### 2.3.3. CESARE GIRAUDO

The Eucharistic theology of Kilmartin owes much to the works of Giraudo, an Italian Jesuit and expert in the study of Eucharistic Prayers (EPs).<sup>66</sup> Giraudo's theological endeavours were introduced to the English-speaking world by Thomas Talley, who also offered a critique of his investigations<sup>67</sup> and on whose work I relied in my studies of Giraudo. The frequency of Kilmartin's references in his later publications to Giraudo's original works, especially to his book *Eucaristia per la Chiesa*, prove that Kilmartin made a detailed, methodological study of Giraudo's theology of the Eucharist. While analysing the works of Kilmartin, one particularly notes how Kilmartin looks at EPs in order to establish the identity of the true value of the Eucharist. He writes that "attaining the goal of a more dynamic vision of the Eucharist, of a more synthetic and global understanding of the central ritual act of the Church, requires an analysis of classical EPs of the patristic age which tell us why we celebrate the Eucharist."<sup>68</sup> According to Kilmartin's own acknowledgment in *The Eucharist in the West*, Giraudo contributed a great deal to Kilmartin's own interpretation of the classical EPs. Kilmartin directly integrated Giraudo's views concerning EPs and the Last Supper into his own ideas about these issues and this

<sup>64</sup> See p. 152

<sup>65</sup> Gary Badcock's observation of Rahner's theology is noteworthy on this point. He writes, "Rahner's entire theological enterprise, and his Trinitarian position within it, must be conceived as an instance of ... a theological approach 'from below'." Cf. Gary Badcock, "Karl Rahner, the Trinity, and Religious Pluralism", in *The Trinity in a Pluralistic Age: Theological Essays on Culture and Religion*, ed. Kevin J. Vanhoozer (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 144.

<sup>66</sup> The information observed in Kilmartin's review of the book *Eucharist in Philo* in 1985 indicates that Kilmartin was already into the works of Giraudo who criticised Philo's positions on the application of sacrificial meaning to the Christian EPs. Cf. Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Eucharistia in Philo by Jean Laporte, New York 1983," *Theological Studies* 46, no. 2 (1985), 389. Giraudo's influence on Kilmartin seems to be as early as 1980 and he is different from previous scholars in his approach to the study.

<sup>67</sup> Thomas Talley, "The Literary Structure of the Eucharistic Prayer," *Worship* 58, no. 5 (1984), 404-420; Also cf. the revised version, Thomas Talley, *Sources and Structures of the Eucharistic Prayer*, *Worship: Reforming Tradition* (Washington, DC.: Pastoral Press, 1990), 11-34. I also depended on his works in studying Giraudo.

<sup>68</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 342.

helped him to focus his attention even more sharply on the riches found in the EPs of both East and the West.

We will deal with Giraudo's ideas about the EPs and the impact they had on the theology of Kilmartin more extensively in chapter three. Therefore, I will limit myself here to just mentioning some of the basic tenets underlying Giraudo's thought.

A key concept of Giraudo's work is his suggestion to reintegrate *lex orandi* as a counterbalance to *lex credendi*.<sup>69</sup> According to Giraudo, the second millennium clearly showed the primacy of *lex credendi*.<sup>70</sup> Both Giraudo and Kilmartin considered it the mission of the third millennium to restore the supremacy of *lex orandi*.<sup>71</sup>

Further for Giraudo, during the second millennium, the unity of the *anaphora* in the EPs was not fully recognized in the West. Rather it was considered to be a sequence of prayers which stood independent of other prayers, the focus being one-sidedly upon the consecration of bread and wine by the Institution Narrative. The fact that scholars did not take seriously the unity of the EPs and focussed on the consecration/Institution Narrative is caused by the fact that they neglected the *lex orandi*, which is the content of the (entire) EP. The true importance and purpose of such prayers were not fully realized either by the scholars or by the celebrants, and they had not investigated them sufficiently. Giraudo observes that "these prayers were kept on saying [sic] only because they were in the missal."<sup>72</sup>

Third, Giraudo considered features of the EP to have links with a type of Jewish prayer he designates by the term *todah*. This prayer form has two main structures: an evocation of the commemoration of God's work, and an invocation in which a plea is made to God to continue the same act. The first part is referred to as *anamnetic* and the second as *epicletic*. Giraudo finds a corresponding analysis in the Christian *anaphoras*.<sup>73</sup> In these texts these two structural elements [memorial and invocation]

<sup>69</sup> Giraudo, *Eucaristia per la Chiesa*, 14-26.

<sup>70</sup> Moloney, "Lonergan on Eucharistic Sacrifice," 60.

<sup>71</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 323ff. In his review of the Book *Eucharistie: Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral, Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft*, Kilmartin acknowledges that Meyer also has made it "less difficult" the integration of *lex orandi* into *lex credendi*. Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of *Eucharistie: Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral, Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft* by H.B. Meyer, Regensburg 1989," *Theological Studies* 52, no. 1 (1991), 150.

<sup>72</sup> Giraudo, "Recognition of the Orthodoxy of the Most Ancient Eucharistic Prayer," 108.

<sup>73</sup> According to Giraudo the basis of the *anaphora* is to be found in the *todah* and not in the *berakah*. Cf. Cesare Giraudo, *La struttura letteraria de la preghiera eucaristica: Saggio Sulla Genesi Letteraria Di Una Forma: Toda Veterotestamentaria, Beraka Giudaica, Anafora Cristiana*, *Analecta Biblica*, vol. 92 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1981); Also cf. Cesare Giraudo, "'Irrepetibilita dell'evento fondatore eucaristia iterazione del rito: la mediazione del segno profetico. Prospettive teologiche sul rapporto tra Ultima cena, Morte-Risurrezione ed Eucaristia," *Rivista di teologia* 24, (1983); Cesare Giraudo, "Le recit de l'institution dans la priere eucharistique a-t-il des precedents?," *Nouvelle revue theologique* 106, (1984), 513-535. *Berakah* is the name the Jewish tradition gives to its standard prayers, and literally means a prayer of 'blessing'. The *todah* observance, on the other hand, is a celebration of the covenant, and literally means a prayer of 'thanksgiving'. Cf. Paul F. Bradshaw, ed. *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (London: SCM Press, 2002), cf. Eucharistic Prayer, p.193. Scholars have been divided on the question whether *berakah* [blessing] and *todah* [thanksgiving] are significantly different. Cf. R.C.D. Jasper and G.J. Cumming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 3 ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 7. Following Giraudo, Kilmartin also does not agree with scholars who gave great importance to the principle of the *berakah*. Furthermore, for Giraudo and Kilmartin, alongside many other scholars of the 1960s and onwards, the Last Supper

are linked, with the Institution Narrative establishing the connection between the two structural elements and the Last Supper. Thus, the Institution Narrative constitutes the link of the "anamnetic" or "epicletic" sections.<sup>74</sup>

Both Giraudo and Kilmartin take the unity of the EP as the basis of the theology of the Eucharist. This implies a rejection of the traditional Western approach. According to Giraudo, the memorial aspect of Christ in the Eucharist and his presence throughout the whole liturgy had not been well-interpreted in the West since the Middle Ages. The stark focus of the Western approach was on the Eucharistic elements, the bread and wine, with little attention given either to the Risen Lord and his other forms of presence in the liturgical celebrations, including the memorial aspect ritually realized within the entire celebration of the Eucharist. The traditional focus was, 'when and how does the Eucharistic species change into the real body of Christ?' rather than emphasising what the Church was in fact doing there.

For Giraudo, the theology of EPs can be determined in great part from its literary, syntactical structure. EPs reveal that the Eucharist is a celebration of the entire Church. They are the collective act of praise and thanks expressed in words through the celebrant, who gives thanks to God the Father for sending the Son to initiate redemption through his sacrifice on the Cross, the enactment of which takes place during the Last Supper in the forms of the Eucharistic elements, the bread and wine, when Jesus asks his disciples to do the same in his memory. What transpires in the Eucharist is that the entire Church is fulfilling the Lord's command through their

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narrative has a close affinity with the pascha of the Jewish ritual. Some scholars have attempted to show that the meal that Jesus took with his disciples was a paschal seder. Cf. Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1966). This is the translation of the original, Joachim Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960). However, there are also others who have attempted to prove the 'otherwise' due to the ambiguities in them. Cf. Gregory C. Jenks, "Maundy Thursday and the Passover," *Australian Journal of Liturgy* 1, no. 3 (1988), 110-120. Also, there are scholars who do not relate the Eucharist with the Last Supper of Christ. For instance, Paul F. Bradshaw argues that only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century was the Eucharist linked to the Last Supper of Jesus and that many scholars did not find a link between the two. Cf. Paul F. Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins* (London: SPCK, 2004). There are still others who hold the position that it was Paul the Apostle who unambiguously related the Eucharist with what Jesus did during the Last Supper. Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 3rd ed. (London: United Bible Societies, 1971), 173ff. Nevertheless, one needs to admit that these contrasting opinions are an indication that while there are many possibilities of linking the Eucharistic celebration with the paschal seder, still there are some possibilities to disprove the exact relation. Kilmartin, who affiliates the Last Supper "at least symbolically" with the Jewish paschal meal, offered this idea long before Giraudo, who strongly upheld the connection between the Last Supper and the Passover meal, relating them to humanity's reconciliation with God in history predominantly through remembrance of a meal. Giraudo assumes that because Jesus related his sacrificial death to humanity's reconciliation [this is the cup of my blood...which is given up for the forgiveness of sins...] with God during a paschal meal then it means that the Christian Eucharistic traditions and rituals were instituted by Jesus at the Last Supper. Cf. Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church* (New Jersey, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1965), 44. Also cf. Power's interpretation of Giraudo, Cf. David N. Power, "Theology of Eucharistic Celebration", in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies: Eucharist*, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, Minn: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 330.

<sup>74</sup> Cesare Giraudo, "The Genesis of the Anaphoral Institution Narrative in the Light of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari: Between from Criticism and Comparative Liturgy," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 78, no. 1 (2012), 15-16; Also cf. Giraudo, Giraudo, *La struttura letteraria de la preghiera eucaristica*; Also cf. Giraudo, Giraudo, *Eucaristia per la Chiesa*; and Cesare Giraudo, *Preghiere eucaristiche per la chiesa di oggi: Riflessioni in margine al commento del canone svizzero-romano* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1993).



ritual actions.<sup>75</sup> In this sense, the voice of the priest is the voice of the community, which narrates the Institutional Account through the presider by means of the activity of the Spirit. The Holy Spirit not only changes the bread and wine but the participants themselves and unites them to Christ. Together with Giraudo, Kilmartin stressed these points throughout the course of his studies concerning the pneumatological and ecclesiological nature of liturgical authority as essential elements that harmonize and intensify the Christological character of acting *in persona Christi capitis*.

## 2.4 A CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF THE WORKS OF KILMARTIN

This section will present a chronological survey of some of the most important works of Kilmartin,<sup>76</sup> focussing on those topics that are related to the subject of this study in particular. The overview I will present will encapsulate the different periods of Kilmartin's life (1960-1970; 1971-1980; and 1981-1994) and highlight the key themes which are central to his theological thought. Where the works have not been published, it has been mentioned explicitly.

Kilmartin did not only write monographs, books, and articles, but also wrote many reviews and reflections. During his time at Weston College, and in his later teaching career, he served as an associate editor, and continued to write reviews of theological and religious books and journals up until shortly before his death. One can discern the origins of his methodology, the progress of his interests, and the religious concerns which progressively marked his writings. Drawing on his articles, reviews, seminars, and other primary sources, we hope to weave together the chronological threads of Kilmartin's scholarship and the development of his theological vision, clarifying the most important stages in his theological thought so essential in understanding his views on the authentic sacrifice of the Eucharist.

### 2.4.1 KILMARTIN, 1960-1970

Kilmartin's work on Eucharistic theology began as early as 1960. Two of his earliest writings dealt with the correspondences and parallels between John 6 and the Jewish Passover text of the *Haggadah*. Relying on the work done by other scholars such as D. Daube,<sup>77</sup> G. Ziener,<sup>78</sup> and B. Gärtner,<sup>79</sup> Kilmartin believed that the connection between these texts stemmed from a Christian Passover *Haggadah*, which functioned

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<sup>75</sup> David N. Power, "A Prayer of Intersecting Parts: Elements of the Eucharistic Prayer," *Liturgical Ministry* Summer (1995), 127. For the original cf. Giraudo, "Le récit de l'institution dans la prière eucharistique a-t-il des précédents?," 513-536.

<sup>76</sup> While it is impossible to review all of the works, the author has chosen some of his specific works that are essential to our study. Also due to unfamiliarity with the German, Italian and French languages, the author of this dissertation relies on Kilmartin's English texts for the most part of the study.

<sup>77</sup> David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: Athlone, 1956).

<sup>78</sup> G. Ziener, "Johannesevangelium und urchristliche Passafeier," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 2, (1958), 263-274.

<sup>79</sup> B. Gärtner, *John 6 and the Jewish Passover*, *Coniectanea Neotestamentica*, vol. XVII (Lund: Copenhagen, 1959).

as an intermediary.<sup>80</sup> In his article *Influence of John*, he approached the theory with some level of certainty and wrote that, just as the third part of Wisdom of Solomon 10.1-10.22 is based on a Jewish Passover *Haggadah*, John 6 might be based on a Christian Passover *Haggadah* or even may have served as part of some sort of Christian Passover *Haggadah*. In the same year, another article entitled, "The Formation of the Bread of Life Discourse," appeared in which Kilmartin equally deals with John 6. The focus was on the relationship between the manna, the Messiah, and the Eucharist. Kilmartin suggests the possibility that, while dealing with this issue, the author of the Fourth Gospel follows the arrangement of the Jewish Passover *Haggadah*, with particular reference to the questions asked by the four sons.<sup>81</sup>

In 1960, Kilmartin wrote a short article called, "Relationship of the Double Consecration to the Essence of the Sacrifice of the Mass."<sup>82</sup> Although his key focus was on the concept of the double consecration, this article could be viewed as the first in which he explicitly touched on the theme of this dissertation, employing words such as 'Eucharist', 'sacrifice', and 'priest'. In this article, Kilmartin attempts to answer the question, "Is it possible to have a true and valid sacrifice if only one constituent is consecrated?" The first argument that has been advanced in favour of the necessity of a double consecration is the suggestion that the consecration of only one Eucharistic element "does not furnish the sign sufficient for sacrifice." A second argument is that Christ Himself wished to have both the bread and wine consecrated at the Last Supper. Kilmartin agrees with the latter argument. It is interesting to note that he does not follow other theologians who argue that the Eucharist is a "representative sacrifice" and that the representative value comes through a sacramental separation of the body and blood of Christ, carried out by a priest who is the competent authority. Kilmartin, as early as 1960, was critical of the concept of the "priest as the one offering the Mass." He criticizes the view of J. Brinktrine (1889-1965) who seems "to favour the sufficiency of one consecration" and viewed the sacrificial activity as the "actualizing of the priestly character," without whom there is no consecration. However, Kilmartin appears to reject the first argument because he thinks that while it is not absolutely *necessary* to have a double consecration, it is *better* to have both.

In the same year, Kilmartin wrote the article, "A First Century Chalice Dispute," in which he analyzed two well-known chalice disputes: the first on the use of water instead of wine in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries; the second, in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, regarding the necessity of the use of the cup, which became a symbol of the subsequent Reformers' movement.<sup>83</sup> Kilmartin posits that, besides these two, there was yet another chalice dispute in the Church already in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Based on evidence provided by Betz, who attempts to prove this through his study of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the dispute was said to surround the belief of some members of the

<sup>80</sup> Kilmartin writes about the Jewish meal influence on the early Christian celebration of the Eucharist in an article he published in 1986. Cf. Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Jewish Thank-Offering Meal as Background for the Lord's Supper: State of the Question* ed. Joseph Arment, The Papin Gedenkschrift: Dimensions in the Human Religious Quest, vol. II: Scriptural Dimensions (Michigan: 1986), 410-428.

<sup>81</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Formation of the Bread of Life Discourse (John 6)", in *Sacraments in Scripture*, ed. T. Worden (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), 75-78.

<sup>82</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Relationship of the Double Consecration to the Essence of the Sacrifice of the Mass," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 94, no. 6 (1960), 342-345.

<sup>83</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "A First Century Chalice Dispute," *Sciences Ecclesiastiques (Montreal)* 12, no. 3 (1960), 403-408.

primitive Christian community that they were drinking blood during the Eucharist. Hence, due to the "fear of blood and lack of understanding of the meaning of the New Covenant," these Christians rejected the chalice and refused to consume the Eucharistic wine, while those who understood the New Covenant's meaning, emphasized it. Kilmartin believes that, for Betz, the letter to the Hebrews indicates the existence of this chalice crisis. Kilmartin places special emphasis on the blood of Christ since the chalice and the blood are rooted in the new Covenant established by Jesus.<sup>84</sup> Although this article touches on one of the most important aspects of the Eucharist, it would be too early to conclude that Kilmartin was already determined to focus upon the themes of Eucharist and sacrifice. However, a remark in his review of the book, *The Baptismal Sacrifice* by George Every, indicates his growing interest in the theme of Eucharist and sacrifice when he expresses his disappointment that Every fails to bring a "more penetrating investigation of the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist."<sup>85</sup>

In 1962, Kilmartin returned to the theme of the use of the cup in his article "The Eucharistic Cup in the Primitive Liturgy" in which he makes a scriptural analysis of the Eucharistic cup in Acts 2:42; 20:7-11; 1 Cor. 11, 25; Lk. 22, 15-18, 20; and Mk 14:23b.<sup>86</sup> Kilmartin points out that Acts refers to the Eucharist as the "breaking of bread" and questions whether there was a Eucharist without wine in the primitive liturgy. Building on Betz's work, he concludes that there could not have been a Eucharist without wine because Christ gave the cup a new significance at the Last Supper. According to Kilmartin, in the primitive Church, the cup was given greater emphasis than the bread.

In 1961, Kilmartin reviewed *Sacrament de la Rencontre de Dieu*, a French translation of a Dutch original by Schillebeeckx.<sup>87</sup> Schillebeeckx focuses attention "on the sacramentality in religion in order to arrive at the conclusion that the sacraments of the Church are the proper human way of encountering God." Schillebeeckx emphasizes that a specifically Trinitarian perspective in the fundamental core of religion is personal communion with God, who gives Himself to us in ways and means we cannot actually envision. He writes that the divine encounter of human beings depends on God since human beings are weak by nature, saying "in Jesus the invitation of God to personal communion with Him finds its perfect human resonance. It is only by participating in the mystery of worship of the earthly Christ ... that we will find salvation in personal communion with the Trinity."<sup>88</sup> The sacraments, for Schillebeeckx, become the manifestation of the mystery of worship and sanctification of the Church.

As far as this review is concerned, it seems to have impacted Kilmartin's own thinking a great deal, serving not only as a starting point for his theology but also contributing to the formulation of the structure of his work. Schillebeeckx's

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 403-408.

<sup>85</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of the Baptismal Sacrifice, by George Every, Studies in Ministry and Worship 14, (London 1959)," *Theological Studies* 22, no. 1 (1961), 125-126.

<sup>86</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Cup in the Primitive Liturgy," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1962), 32-43.

<sup>87</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Le Christ, sacrament de la rencontre de Dieu, by E. Schillebeeckx, Lex Orandi 31; (Paris 1960)," *Theological Studies* 22, no. 3 (1961), 479.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 479.

theological enterprise follows a format: 1) 'on communion with God' through an 'encounter'; 2) Jesus as the 'primordial sacrament' of encounter; 3) participation in the mystery of worship; and 4) the sanctification of the Church. Kilmartin would investigate and further develop these contributions in his own theology.

Prior to the review of Schillebeeckx's work, Kilmartin published an article entitled "Two Lutheran Opinions Concerning the Eucharistic Sacrifice," in which he describes the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist as "one of the principal points of contention between the Reformers and the Roman Catholic Church of the 16<sup>th</sup> century."<sup>89</sup> Kilmartin expresses concern over the efforts made by the Reformers to remove the concept of sacrifice from the Lord's Supper and, at the same time, notes a growing tendency in 20<sup>th</sup>-century Protestantism "to rethink the meaning of the Eucharist in terms of sacrifice."<sup>90</sup> Remarks such as these at the very beginning of this article reveal Kilmartin's growing interest for studies on the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist. In the same article, Kilmartin goes on to review the work of the German Lutherans Albrecht Volkmann, who treats the idea of sacrifice in Christian worship,<sup>91</sup> and his counter-arguer, Wilhelm Andersen, who criticizes his work as a poor study.<sup>92</sup> Kilmartin seems to have adopted more than one element of Volkmann in his studies. Volkmann, in order to affirm the sacrificial nature of Christian worship, takes references from *Didache*, Justin the Martyr, and Irenaeus and writes that the "ancient Church was conscious of the sacrificial nature of the Lord's Supper." Volkmann's viewpoint may have contributed to Kilmartin's early interest in the EPs of the ancient Church. Equally, Kilmartin appears to appreciate Volkmann's work on the "sacrifices of the believers" and their self-oblation while attending the Mass. Many of Volkmann's assertions are echoed in the works of Kilmartin.

In the same year, Kilmartin wrote "Lutheranism and Transubstantiation," an article in which he summarizes Martin Luther's thought on the 'how' of the real presence.<sup>93</sup> Although he criticizes Luther's views surrounding his denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation, Kilmartin writes this article to point out certain features of the problem in the dogma that might be helpful for future ecumenical conversations. The article shows Kilmartin, at the very beginning of his career, is already wrestling with two issues that will take centre stage in many of his later publications: a liturgical study of the Eucharist and ecumenism.

It is notable that in connection with the above article, in 1962 Kilmartin reviewed Francis Clark's book, *The Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*, in which Clark analyses the reformers' rejection of Eucharist as a sacrifice.<sup>94</sup> Kilmartin endorses

<sup>89</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Two Lutheran Opinions Concerning the Eucharistic Sacrifice," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1961), 45-54.

<sup>90</sup> Kilmartin points to the work done by G. Aulén. Cf. Gustaf Aulén, *Eucharist and Sacrifice*, trans. Eric H. Wahlstrom (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958).

<sup>91</sup> Kilmartin seems to have studied the work of Volkmann especially his article from 1956. Cf. Albrecht Volkmann, "Der Opfergedanke im christlichen Gottesdienst," *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* X, (1956), 101-106.

<sup>92</sup> Wilhelm Andersen, "Krisis in der Theologie des Gottesdienst," *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* X, (1956), 481-485.

<sup>93</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Lutheranism and Transubstantiation," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 145, (1961), 400-409.

<sup>94</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation, by F.J. Clark, (Westminster, Md 1960)," *Theological Studies* 23, no. 1 (1962), 134-138.

Clark's views. Both he and Clark criticize the theologians of the Reformation and argue that rejection of the sacrificial characteristics of the Eucharist means rejection of the whole incarnational culture and tradition of the Catholic Church.

In 1962, Kilmartin wrote two interesting small works on the sacraments in which he considers them as means of an interpersonal encounter with God in order to share in his life in the Trinity. In the first one, a small book intended for a wider readership entitled, *The Sacraments: Signs of Christ, Sanctifier and High Priest*, he shows how deeply scholastic definitions and arguments had influenced sacramental action and indicates the direction of his future trajectory.<sup>95</sup> This work illustrates that Kilmartin is keen to pursue research on the Trinity, sacraments, and liturgy. He situates the sacraments in the total plan of salvation and starts with Trinity. One might say that it is here that his Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice begins to take shape, especially in the way he treats human participation in the divine life of God. He posits that God takes the initiative to make his own life available to humanity, and that this life comes toward us through the sacrament as, so Kilmartin argues, the means of God's encounter with humankind. In Christ, the personal encounter with the divine being is made real since He has become the agent *par excellence* for humankind, and the personal relationship with the divine being is only possible through Jesus Christ and through his bride, the Church. Kilmartin writes, "a corporeal encounter with the glorified Christ, and in Him with Trinity, remains possible in the Sacramental Church."<sup>96</sup> This idea had already been more or less expressed in the writings of Schillebeeckx. It indicates that, having read Schillebeeckx in great detail, Kilmartin processed his views in his own terms.

Kilmartin's second work about the sacraments is *Patristic Views of Sacramental Sanctity*. In this study, he examines in particular baptism and the sanctification it achieves.<sup>97</sup> Kilmartin emphasizes the prominent role that the Church and the Spirit play in baptism, believing that studying this role is useful "in order to come to a fuller understanding of the sacraments," and to explain the participation of the faithful in the sacramental actions of the Church and the works of the Holy Spirit in these actions. According to Kilmartin, the early Church showed a particular interest in the individual efforts of Christians to integrate themselves into the sacramental life of the Church and Christ through the actions of the Holy Spirit. Thus, Kilmartin believes that the Holy Spirit incorporates us into Christ to share the same Spirit that is in Christ.

Kilmartin's review of *Greek Baptismal Terminology: Its Origin and Early Development* by Joseph Ysebaert (1925–2006) is also noteworthy. Ysebaert makes clear his thoughts on the gifts and operation of the Holy Spirit during confirmation and baptism,<sup>98</sup> which Kilmartin endorses when he writes: "[Ysebaert's] distinction

<sup>95</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Sacraments: Signs of Christ, Sanctifier and High Priest* (Glen Rock: Paulist Press, 1962).

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>97</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Patristic Views of Sacramental Sanctity," *Proceedings of the Catholic College Teachers of Sacred Doctrine* 8, (1962), 82. This article was republished in the year 1964 with a slight change in the title. Instead of using the words 'sacramental sanctity' as in the first publication, he uses the words 'sacramental sanctification'.

<sup>98</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Greek Baptismal Terminology: Its Origin and Early Development by J. Ysebaert, Graecitas Christianorum Primaeva 1, (Nijmegen 1962)," *Theological Studies* 24, no. 2 (1963), 300-302.

between the operation and indwelling of the Spirit as distinguished from the gift of the Spirit is a good one." Kilmartin would further develop his theology on the operation of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist and priesthood, based on the baptismal event of Jesus.

Kilmartin's writings of 1964 include several other book reviews mostly on baptism and confirmation.<sup>99</sup> His intensive readings on baptism and confirmation signalled Kilmartin's growing interest in pneumatology and the special role of the Holy Spirit. Special mention should be made here of Kilmartin's review of the book, *The Mystery of Confirmation* by Marian Bohen because, having referred to early Church Fathers such as Tertullian, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, Bohen demonstrates the bestowal of the Spirit during baptism which unites the Christian to Christ. Kilmartin discovers a similar view also in the work of Rudolf Schnackenburg (1914–2002), who viewed baptism as "the place where this union of believers with Christ, the Founder of a new humanity, is established, so that they die 'with Him' and live 'with Him'."<sup>100</sup> He further endorses the view of J. Duplacy, who stressed the importance of personal faith in becoming "faithful Christians."<sup>101</sup> Kilmartin would expand on these ideas in several of his later studies in which he further developed his Spirit theology.<sup>102</sup> It is important to note that Kilmartin's interest in publications dealing with baptism and confirmation by various authors led him to develop a deeper interest in the early Church Fathers and their writings, which helped him make important discoveries that would become highly relevant for the development of his Trinitarian model.<sup>103</sup>

Kilmartin's editorial and review output slowed during 1963 and 1964 as he focussed on writing his first book, which he published in 1965 and was entitled, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*. This book analyses significant NT sources that relate to Eucharistic doctrines and practices. It offers both historical and theological interpretations of how the primitive Church celebrated the Eucharist. It is worth noting that one part of the book deals with the investigation of the structure and content of the EPs, which Kilmartin believes distinguishes Church prayers from the liturgical prayers of the Jewish tradition.

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<sup>99</sup> At least ten book reviews between 1964 and 1970 on baptism and confirmation could be mentioned here. Cf. Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of the Mystery of Confirmation: A Theology of the Sacrament by Marian Bohen, New York 1963," *Theological Studies* 25, no. 1 (1963), 95-97; Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Did the Early Church Baptize Infants? By K. Aland, Philadelphia 1963," *Theological Studies* 25, no. 1 (1964), 439-445; Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries by J. Jeremias, London 1960," *Theological Studies* 25, no. 1 (1964), 439-445; Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of the Origin of Infant Baptism by J. Jeremias, Naperville 1963," *Theological Studies* 25, no. 1 (1964), 439-445; Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Limbo: Unsettled Question by G.J. Dyer, New York 1964," *Theological Studies* 25, no. 1 (1964), 445-447; Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul by R. Schnackenburg, (New York 1964)," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1965), 179-180; Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Baptism in the New Testament by A. George et Al, Baltimore 1964," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (1965), 61-62; Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of by Oath Consigned: A Reinterpretation of the Covenant Signs of Circumcision and Baptism by M.G. Kline, Grand Rapids 1968," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (1969).

<sup>100</sup> Kilmartin, "Review of Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul by R. Schnackenburg, (New York 1964)," 170.

<sup>101</sup> Kilmartin, "Review of Baptism in the New Testament by A. George et Al, Baltimore 1964," 62.

<sup>102</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of the Mystery of Confirmation," 97.

<sup>103</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries by J. Jeremias," 441.

In his review of the book *Prophétisme sacramental: neuf études pour le renouveau et l'unité de l'Eglise* by Jean Jacques von Allmen (1917-1994) in 1965, Kilmartin appears to have furthered his understanding of the sacramental character of the Church and its duty towards the world.<sup>104</sup> Allmen's description of the Spirit and its relation to Christian worship and the encounter between sacrament and sacrifice makes one wonder whether Von Allmen's work can be considered as a source for Kilmartin's study of the role of the Holy Spirit. Despite his criticism of some points, Kilmartin does seem to be in sympathy with Von Allmen's view on the sacrament as the means the Spirit uses "to give Christ to us" and on the sacrifice as what the Spirit employs "to give us to Christ."<sup>105</sup>

Kilmartin's reading of the book *Sacraments and Orthodoxy* by the Orthodox theologian Alexander Schmemmann's (1921-1983) reveals the further development of his ideas. From this review, one can assume that it is likely that Kilmartin integrated Schmemmann's work into his theology, especially Schmemmann's views of the world as a sacrament and the ultimate destiny of humankind as "personal communion with God." Schmemmann's explanation of the Orthodox Church's position on the transformation of the Eucharistic elements, which comes about through the *epiclesis* – a prayer to the Holy Spirit – and "not by the words of Institution" also finds favour. Kilmartin also agrees with Schmemmann's dismissal of the emphasis on the 'precise moment' of consecration.<sup>106</sup> Kilmartin continually repeats the same point in his theology, considering the emphasis on the precise moment of consecration a weakness of the present day Eucharistic theology of the Catholic Church.

Kilmartin's publications of 1966 show that he is further developing his liturgical and sacramental theology; he continues with his investigations on the sacrificial actions of Christ in the Eucharist. In 1966, he wrote a text on the sacrificial meal, which was published in the format of a small book.<sup>107</sup> He explains the purpose of creation as being in communion with God for eternity. Creation, which expresses God's love, took place without any selfish motives on the part of God. Christ renews the covenant between God and humanity, which was ruptured by sin, through his death and resurrection; the Institution Narrative liturgically expresses this renewal of the covenant. Kilmartin stresses how important it is for believers to take these liturgical celebrations seriously since they deepen one's faith, which helps one to become a person for the 'other'. This article is basically a simplified version of Kilmartin's theological concepts as they had developed at that time. What has yet to be worked out is his interpretation of the classical EPs and a more elaborated vision of the work of the Holy Spirit, which he will develop later in his theology. Nevertheless, what Kilmartin proposes in this article remains true for him for the rest of his life.

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<sup>104</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of *Prophétisme Sacramental: neuf études pour le renouveau et l'unité de l'Eglise* by Jean Jacques Von Allmen, Paris 1964," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 2, no. 1 (1965), 124. Kilmartin also reviewed Allmen's publication of 1965 in which he once again stressed the importance of liturgical worship: the elements of worship, participants, day and place of celebration, structure of worship. Kilmartin would develop these themes in his works too. Cf. Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of *Worship: Its Theology and Practice* by Jean Jacques Von Allmen, New York 1965," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1967), 336.

<sup>105</sup> Kilmartin, "Review of *Prophétisme Sacramental*," 124.

<sup>106</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of *Sacraments and Orthodoxy* by Alexander Schmemmann, New York 1965," *Theological Studies* 26, no. 1 (1965), 451.

<sup>107</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant* (Glen Rock: Paulist Press Doctrinal Series, 1966), 1-31.

In his 1966 article, "The One Fruit and the Many Fruits of the Mass," Kilmartin deals with the value and the fruits of the Mass.<sup>108</sup> He gives a survey of the history of the theological opinion about the issue especially from the 8<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century and, in the second part, he endorses the view of Rahner who criticises the traditional views and stresses the importance of the participants. For Kilmartin, the actual offerers, those who assemble for the Eucharist, must unite their intentions with the intentions of the Church in order to receive the fruits of the Masses. Kilmartin would elaborate the views of Rahner on the fruits of the Mass in an article he wrote for the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* the following year.

In 1967, writing on Eucharistic Sacrifice for the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Kilmartin turned his focus to important issues surrounding it,<sup>109</sup> expressing his displeasure at certain meanings associated with the term sacrifice and going on to assert the Eucharist as the sacrifice of Christ and the Church. Concentrating on the correlation between the Eucharist as a sacrifice and a sacrament, and thus emphasising, as an essential feature, the bond between the two aspects, Kilmartin offers a survey of the way the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist is understood in both Scripture and the teachings of the Church, particularly in the patristic literature, the Council of Trent, and in the encyclical *Mediator Dei* (1947) of Pius XII. He expresses his views on the Council Fathers' silence on certain questions especially on the precise ritual action that completes the sacrifice in the Mass and brings out the essence of the Eucharist as establishing a communion with God the Father through Jesus. While the article unifies and links in a systematic way a number of the themes Kilmartin had already explored, and which would be important for the theory of authentic sacrifice that he would go on to develop, it is notable that other ideas are still lacking, in particular, the role of the Holy Spirit and the Trinity.

While Kilmartin continued to publish, writing several reviews of other authors' works on Church, Christ, and the Eucharist, during the years 1967-70 there was a significant slowdown in his own contribution to Eucharistic theology, presumably attributable to his engagement in the process of developing his own views of Eucharistic sacrifice as he explored and assimilated the concepts these works contained. One notable review is the one he wrote of Rahner's and Angelus Häussling's (1932- ) book, *Die Vielen Messen und Das Eine Opfer*, in which they emphasize the importance of attending the Eucharist since it "increases the *fides and devotio* [faith and devotion] of the participants."<sup>110</sup> Kilmartin would later pursue his study of the faith and devotion of those receiving the Eucharist following the same ideas traced in this book.

In 1968, Kilmartin published a review of *I offered Christ, A Protestant Study of the Mass* by the Lutheran theologian Franz Hildebrandt (1909-1985) who criticized the view, upheld by Roman Catholic traditions, that the Church is "united to Christ in the offering of the one acceptable sacrifice of the Cross during the Eucharistic

<sup>108</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The One Fruit or the Many Fruits of the Mass," *Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America* 21, no. June (1966), 37-69.

<sup>109</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice", in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Catholic University of America (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

<sup>110</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Die vielen Messen und das eine Opfer, by Karl Rahner and A. Häussling in *Quaestiones Disputatae* 31 (Freiburg 1966)," *Theological Studies* 28, no. 4 (1967), 851.



sacrifice.”<sup>111</sup> The book for him suffers from a number of deficiencies, which are also found in the former studies. These are: “(1) failure to exploit the basic principle of intelligibility in theology: the relationship of one mystery to another; (2) absolutizing of one perspective on the mystery of salvation to the extent that all possibility of further penetration is excluded: the worst kind of relativism.”<sup>112</sup> Kilmartin’s expectation was that Hildebrandt would engage in a thorough-going analysis of the Institution Narrative. He criticized Hildebrandt for not doing so in this book. Kilmartin was equally critical of Hildebrandt’s non-treatment of “the hyper *hymōn* of Christ’s sacrifice in view of the Incarnation: the movement by which the Son comes to us, unites us to Himself and draws us to the Father.” The review makes clear Kilmartin’s desire to further develop a Eucharistic theology, which incorporated answers to aspects missing in the theology of his time.

#### 2.4.2 KILMARTIN, 1971-1980

The years 1971 to 1980 were even more productive in the development of Kilmartin’s continuing and ever-growing interest in Eucharistic theology, including its ecumenical relevance. In his efforts to formulate a Trinitarian theology of authentic sacrifice, Kilmartin produced articles in which he discussed various themes that are relevant for his theology of Eucharist and sacrifice.

His first publication in 1971 was “Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in the Recent Literature.”<sup>113</sup> In this article, Kilmartin reviews and discusses a number of recent publications by both Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox theologians about the Eucharist, taking up themes such as “the Real Presence, Eucharistic sacrifice, the significance of Christ’s Eucharistic presence,” the role of the Holy Spirit, priests, and the priesthood of all believers. Kilmartin warns that he limits himself only to material from the last five years, thereby addressing the current trends of Catholic theological thinking and the associated authors who contributed to these subjects. One of the important issues he explores is the question of how to explain the ontological change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. He concludes that a rational explanation of the ontological basis of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist only provokes confusion. Kilmartin would hold on to this position for the rest of his life.

The discussion on the Eucharistic communion and Trinitarian life is a concept Kilmartin would go on to develop further in his studies, keeping a focus on the work of the Holy Spirit which is, according to him, “neglected in the Western Church.”<sup>114</sup> He calls for living the life of faith for a fruitful participation in the Eucharist. In the final part of the article, Kilmartin focuses on the theme of ecumenism based on the celebration of the Eucharist. He poses, and responds to, the question: “If the Church is built on the sacrament of the Eucharist, is there a possibility to deepen the unity of the churches by ‘joint Eucharists’ celebrated together by Catholic priests, priests from the Orthodox community and the ministers from the other Reformation churches?” His focus is on the celebration of the Eucharist presided over by a minister who has not

<sup>111</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, “Review of *I Offered Christ: A Protestant Study of the Mass* by F. Hildebrandt (Philadelphia 1967).” *Theological Studies* 29, no. 2 (1968), 346.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 345-347.

<sup>113</sup> Kilmartin, “Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature,” 233-277.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

been ordained in historical apostolic succession. Based on witnesses in NT writings, whereby some charismatic leaders did celebrate the Eucharist in the initial days of the Church, Kilmartin observes that many theologians argue that perhaps such a celebration, in a limited way, is also possible in the modern-day churches.

In support of his model of authentic sacrifice, Kilmartin also focussed on the EPs of both East and West. In 1973, he published an article entitled, "The Eucharist Prayer: Content and Function of Some Early Eucharistic Prayers," in which he makes an historical investigation of the structure and content of these early prayers, focussing on the prayers of the primitive Church of Justin and the Didache.<sup>115</sup> Kilmartin believes these prayers reveal the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist, which is so central to his studies. He also, in 1974, published a longer article with the title, "Sacrificium Laudis" in which he examines in depth the development of the EPs between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as their importance in the establishment of the basis for our Eucharistic theology.<sup>116</sup> This article is very important for our study since it gives us insight into the spectrum of themes that belong to Kilmartin's Eucharistic theology, particularly the sacrificial character of the Lord's Supper and the consecratory power of the Church's prayer. Although he had already dealt with the structure and content of the early EPs in the latter part of his first book, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, it is in this article that he develops it more systematically. Kilmartin lays out the basic structure of the Eucharist and how it is articulated in the EPs.<sup>117</sup>

Later, in his review of John McKenna's 1976 doctoral dissertation on the *Eucharist and Holy Spirit*, Kilmartin suggests that it would have been appropriate to refer to the uniform structure of the EPs of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. This implies his familiarity with the topic and the issues around the EPs of the Church.<sup>118</sup>

In 1975, Kilmartin published yet another significant article entitled, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," in response to a document published in 1973 by the International Theological Commission on the nature of apostolic office and non-Catholic ordained ministry.<sup>119</sup> Kilmartin argues that the conception of the priest as directly acting in the person of Christ, the Head, in sacramental celebrations, in isolation from his representative role with respect to the Church as Body of Christ, is unsatisfactory. He advocates an alternative view which implies that the priest is first the representative of the faith of the Church, and hence represents Christ Himself, who together with the Holy Spirit becomes the source of our own faith. The definitions and principles proposed in this article would serve as the basis for his subsequent stance on the Eucharist and priesthood in future writings, especially with regard to *in persona Christi* and *in persona ecclesiae*. Kilmartin emphasizes the proper

<sup>115</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Prayer: Content and Function of Some Early Eucharistic Prayers", in *The Word in the World: Studies in Honor of F.J. Moriarty*, ed. R.J. Clifford and G.W. MacRae (Cambridge, Mass: Weston College Press, 1973), 117-134.

<sup>116</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," *Theological Studies* 35, no. 2 (1974), 268-287.

<sup>117</sup> He defines, on page 287, the central role of the EPs and points to the neglect of the original thanksgiving prayer which was "overrun" with sacrificial prayers in the later theological traditions.

<sup>118</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Eucharist and Holy Spirit: The Eucharistic Epiclesis in 20th Century Theology by John H. McKenna, Alcuin Club 57; Great Waking 1975," *Theological Studies* 37, no. 3 (1976), 494-496.

<sup>119</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," *Theological Studies* 36, no. 2 (1975), 243-264.

role of Christian leadership, which is to represent the faith of the Church and show Christ as personally present. In Kilmartin's theology, obedience of faith functions as a link between Christ and the priest, the priest and the Church, and the Church and Christ.

In his 1976 article, *Christ's personal Presence in the Liturgy*, Kilmartin stresses that Christ is the living source of faith and that He makes Himself present through various modes, namely, the Eucharistic species, the priest, the Word, and the community.<sup>120</sup> Kilmartin's article *Liturgical Theology II*, also written in 1976, indicates that he is further developing his perspectives of liturgical theology. In the article, Kilmartin argues that liturgical theology, which he considers to be a difficult theme, "has only recently received the kind of attention it deserves among theologians of various traditions."<sup>121</sup> He also expresses the need to deal with the question of how the liturgy must be studied as a whole.

In "Pastoral Office and the Eucharist," also published in 1976, Kilmartin elaborates on themes such as faith, as expressed by the primitive Christian community, the form and prayers of ordination in the Eucharistic liturgies of the early Christian community, the role of the Bishops and the presbyters, the work of the Holy Spirit and the priestly functions reflected in the EPs of the early Church. He concludes that priestly leadership at the Eucharist belongs to the pastoral office which builds up the Church.<sup>122</sup> In his 1975 review of a book by André Feuillet (1909-1998), Kilmartin criticized the author's lack of attention to this pastoral office. He purports that "the leadership of the Eucharist does not derive from a power of orders which can be conceived apart from pastoral office."<sup>123</sup>

Kilmartin's 1977 article, "Bishops and Presbyters as Representatives of the Church and Christ," amplifies his investigation into the scholastic theology of *in persona Christi* versus *in persona ecclesiae*. In this article, he does not go much beyond directing our attention to the problems connected with the concepts of *in persona Christi* and *in persona ecclesiae*, but the article is the starting point of his search for a solution to this issue.<sup>124</sup> Kilmartin finds the keys to his solution in some concepts of Thomistic theology which he elaborates on in an article he wrote in the same year called "Office and Charism."<sup>125</sup> Once again, Kilmartin stresses the importance of the pastoral office bestowed in sacramental ordination. "The authority of Christ is encountered in the authority of the office bearer," he writes.<sup>126</sup> By adding the concept of 'faith' between the Church and the priest, which works as a connecting device, Kilmartin believes a solution towards the unity between the Church and Christ could be sacramentally established. In this regard, Kilmartin's reading and review of B. D. Marliangeas' dissertation in 1979 seems to have contributed to ending his search for a

<sup>120</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 238.

<sup>121</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Liturgical Theology II," *Worship* 50, no. 4 (1976), 312.

<sup>122</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Pastoral Office and the Eucharist," *Emmanuel* 82, (1976), 312-318.

<sup>123</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of the Priesthood of Christ and His Ministers by André Feuillet, New York 1975," *Theological Studies* 36, no. 3 (1975), 516-518.

<sup>124</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Bishop and Presbyter as Representatives of Christ and the Church", in *Women Priests: A Catholic Commentary on the Vatican Document*, ed. Leonard Swidler and Arlene Swidler (New York: Paulist Press, 1977), 295-301.

<sup>125</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Office and Charism: Reflections on a New Study of Ministry," *Theological Studies* 38, no. 3 (1977), 547-554.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 553.

solution to the debate about the relation between *in persona Christi* and *in persona ecclesiae*. Marliangeas investigates the origin and development of these expressions within Latin theology. The conclusion of his dissertation would be adapted by Kilmartin in his theology, particularly in the way the priest directly represents Christ and the Church.<sup>127</sup>

In 1976, Kilmartin wrote an article in response to the 1969 publication of an *Agreed Statement on the Holy Eucharist* between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches.<sup>128</sup> This was the outcome of a series of discussions held by an Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation, which represented American Orthodox and Roman Catholic Episcopal conferences. The topics discussed were Eucharistic communion, Eucharist as the means of transformation of the whole cosmos, and the mission of service that emerges from the Gospel as the purpose of the Eucharist. Kilmartin briefly observes that according to this document there is no fundamental disagreement between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox understandings of the Eucharist, but he remarks that no reference is made to the necessity of an explicit *epiclesis* or to the term 'transubstantiation', noting that these issues were apparently not considered crucial for the possibility of Eucharistic sharing. Other problems that had to do with the recognition of the ecclesiastical status and jurisdiction to ordain bishops and priests, and the growing consensus of Roman Catholic theologians concerning the possibility of ordaining women, remained a source of uneasiness to the Orthodox.

In 1978, Kilmartin published an article entitled, "The Achievement of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*," on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of its publication. In this paper, he reminds his readers that the success of this document lies in its interpretation of the ecclesiological implications within liturgical celebrations.<sup>129</sup> In Kilmartin's 1979 book, *Toward Reunion: The Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches*, which is an elaboration of his 1977-published work, *The Orthodox and Roman Catholic Consultation*, he discusses four issues: 1) the history of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox relations from the origin of Christianity to the present; 2) the theological consultation in America which indicates that there were discussions going on with the representatives of both the churches; 3) the international dialogue between the two churches which gives a fair account of the ecumenical relationship in the 20<sup>th</sup> century; and 4) the response of the Catholic Church towards certain theological concerns of Orthodoxy especially focussed on topics traditionally disagreed upon.<sup>130</sup> Chapter 5 of the book contains a collection of agreed upon statements between both these churches on the Eucharist, mixed marriages, divorce, celibate clergy, etc.

In 1979, Kilmartin also published a very significant work on the Word of God,<sup>131</sup> which summarizes well the fundamental basis of his sacramental theology. In this text entitled, *A Modern Approach to the Word of God and Sacraments of Christ*, he

<sup>127</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Clés pour une théologie du ministère: In persona Christi, in persona Ecclesiae. Théologie historique by B.D. Marliangeas, Paris 1978," *Theological Studies* 40, no. 3 (1979), 540-541.

<sup>128</sup> Kilmartin, "The Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue on the Eucharist," 213-219.

<sup>129</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Achievement of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*," *Emmanuel* 84, (1978), 565-571.

<sup>130</sup> For example – *Filioque*, ecumenical Councils and the See of Rome.

<sup>131</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God and Sacraments of Christ: Perspectives and Principles", in *The Sacraments: God's Love and Mercy Actualized*, ed. Francis A. Eigo and Silvio E. Fittipaldi (Villanova: Villanova University, 1979), 59-109.

discusses the Logos and *Spirit* Christology and the proper missions of these two persons of the Trinity, the relationship of the Church to Christ and the Spirit, the relationship between the sacraments of the Church and the Word (Logos) to the Spirit, and the Christological foundations for the Word and sacraments. A discussion of the Church's initiative in the communal symbolic expressions of the faith is followed by the modes of Christ's presence and his saving acts in the liturgical celebrations. The participants in the liturgy also have certain fundamental conditions – which emerge from their personal faith – to fulfil in their lives. In dealing with these themes, Kilmartin hopes that the article "will shed some further light on what authentic Christian tradition has always known the sacraments to be: essential engagements with Jesus Christ in the Spirit within the community of believers."<sup>132</sup> These insights, Kilmartin believes, "provide the basis for a new systematic approach to the theology of the sacraments."<sup>133</sup>

### 2.4.3 KILMARTIN 1981-1994

In the last phase of his life, Kilmartin wrote a series of articles in which he developed his theological interpretation of the Eucharist by focussing on both its ecclesiological and pneumatological dimensions. His publications also clearly show his continuing interest in ecumenism, which appear more specifically in his 1981 article "Visions of the future of Ecumenism"<sup>134</sup> as well as in his article "Reception in History" (1984) in which he dealt with the Lima text that had been published by the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches.<sup>135</sup> As the years went on, Kilmartin continued to write on various topics. In doing so, he tried to grasp the core and essence of Eucharistic theology. As a result, the contours of Kilmartin's view of authentic sacrifice become more explicit as does the theological insight into the need for ecumenism.

In his article, "John Chrysostom's Influence on Gabriel Qatraya's Theology of Eucharistic Consecration,"<sup>136</sup> Kilmartin attempts to find an explanation for the fact that the 7<sup>th</sup>-century East Syrian author Gabriel Qatraya ascribed consecratory value to the Institution Narrative, which is in complete disagreement with the works of other Eastern Syrian authors, among them Theodore of Mopsuestia who, instead, gave consecratory value to the *epiclesis*. Kilmartin concluded that Gabriel's view was due to the influence of John Chrysostom. Kilmartin's article reveals his interest in understanding more carefully the Eucharistic theology of the first millennium, which emphasises the Institution Narrative – (predominant in the West) and pushes the *epiclesis* (predominant in the East) to the background.

In a 1981 article "Lay Participation in the Apostolate of the Hierarchy", Kilmartin dealt with an issue that, in his view, had been addressed but had not been sufficiently and satisfactorily developed during the Second Vatican Council or in the dogmatic constitution *Lumen Gentium*. This had to do with the laity's participation in the

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 62-63.

<sup>134</sup> Kilmartin, "Visions of the Future of Ecumenism," 305-313.

<sup>135</sup> Kilmartin, "Reception in History," 34-54.

<sup>136</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "John Chrysostom's Influence on Gabriel Qatraya's Theology of Eucharistic Consecration," *Theological Studies* 42, no. 3 (1981), 444-457.

apostolate of the hierarchy of the Church.<sup>137</sup> Although "an analogy exists between the official Catholic theological approach to the differentiation of the role of a bishop and a priest, and that of the ordained and laity," the Second Vatican Council "was not able to offer any precise demarcation between the powers received in ordination by bishop and presbyter."<sup>138</sup> According to Kilmartin, a Spirit-oriented communion ecclesiology could help settle this problem by focussing on what is implied in the statement of *Unitatis Redintegratio* 2: "The supreme model and principle of this mystery [= the unity of the Church] is the unity, in the Trinity of persons, of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."<sup>139</sup>

In that same year, in his booklet *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, Kilmartin focuses on Pope John Paul II's encyclical on the Eucharist, *Dominicae Cenae* – a significant part of which was a discussion on the role that the baptized and the ordained played in the Eucharist and in the mission of the Church.<sup>140</sup> Kilmartin criticized the Holy Father for his failure to give consideration to the Eucharistic theology of contemporary authors in his discussion on the theme "the Church makes the Eucharist and the Eucharist makes the Church." Kilmartin, moreover, criticises the way in which the Holy Father referred to the teachings of the Council of Trent, which, in his opinion, did not deliver a fully articulated doctrine on the Eucharist as sacrifice.<sup>141</sup> Kilmartin also proposes that the Pope failed to appreciate the ecclesiological as well as the pneumatological aspects of the Eucharist and priesthood.<sup>142</sup>

What is interesting to see in this work is that Kilmartin, as early as 1981, is outlining his concept of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice, which he would develop later on in his work. Having indicated the weaknesses of modern Eucharistic theology, he goes on to outline the relationship between the sacrifice of the Cross and the Eucharist, explaining the mutual sacrificial love of the Father and the Son, and why it is necessary for believers to become part of that sacrifice. What becomes apparent through all these publications is Kilmartin's growing interest in the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice and the relationship between the Church, the Eucharist, and the priesthood.

<sup>137</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Lay Participation in the Apostolate of the Hierarchy," *Jurist* 41, no. (1981), 347-370. A reprint of it appeared in the same year in a book section. Cf. Edward J. Kilmartin, "Lay Participation in the Apostolate of the Hierarchy", in *Official Ministry in a New Age, Permanent Seminar Studies* 3, ed. James H. Provost (Washington: Canon Law Society of America, 1981), 89-116.

<sup>138</sup> Kilmartin, "Lay Participation in the Apostolate of the Hierarchy," 370.

<sup>139</sup> Vatican Council II, "Unitatis Reintegratio: Decree on Ecumenism," cf. paragraph 2.

<sup>140</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood: A Theological Commentary On "The Mystery and Worship of the Most Holy Eucharist"* (New York: Paulist, 1981).

<sup>141</sup> In his review of the book, *The Sacrifice We Offer*, Kilmartin agrees with Power's observations of the past theologies that failed to provide concepts to prove the Mass as a sacrifice offered by the congregation and thus not as something the priest is doing for them. Although the Council of Trent tried to explain the Eucharistic theology and priesthood by its claim against the Reformers, it failed to do so successfully. For Kilmartin, this work by Power deserves great attention as he, while unveiling the weak theology of the past, "stresses the direction of meaning of the Council's teaching," which needs an interpretation in the light of the relation of dogmas with practice. For Kilmartin, it is time for the modern theologians "to rise above the rage for historical preservation of the past" and to live a fuller Eucharistic faith. Kilmartin agrees with Power that there is a need for "retrieval in theology and practice" of those things that are lost in the history of Eucharistic theology. Cf. Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of the Sacrifice We Offer: The Tridentine Dogma and Its Reinterpretation by David N. Power, (New York 1987)," *Theological Studies* 49, no. 2 (1988), 344.

<sup>142</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*

Kilmartin appears to have further developed his theory of Eucharistic patterns in the Catholic Church and the churches of the Reformation in his 1984 review of Irmgard Pahl's *Coena domini: Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen*.<sup>143</sup> Pahl had just edited the Reformation Church's *Orders of the Lord's Supper* from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. While praising the splendid edition of these texts, Kilmartin makes a number of remarks about the content. In particular, he notes that the omission by these documents of the *anamnesis*-offering is "based on a highly rationalized theology of justification by faith and a defective notion of gift."<sup>144</sup> One of his remarks that needs attention concerns the importance of the spiritual sacrifice on the part of the believers, which he would go on to further develop in his Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice.

In 1983, James F. White (1932-2004) published the book, *Sacraments as God's Self-Giving*, the central theme of which was self-giving – both by God and humans.<sup>145</sup> In this same book, Kilmartin wrote an article entitled, "A Roman Catholic Response" in response to White's perspectives on the relationship between liturgy and sacraments.<sup>146</sup> Kilmartin thinks White's ideas are in contrast to the perspectives of those of the Western theologians of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the other denominations, who made a systematic study of the sacraments based on the customary dogmatic teachings in their own respective traditions. Kilmartin, believing the book could contribute to reaching ecumenical agreement, agrees with White's view that modern-day teachings of both Catholics and Protestants on God's self-giving in the sacraments should stress: 1) the Church's life of faith; 2) the effect of this faith, which thus affects the quality of sacramental participation; and 3) what is expected of these believers who communicate with one another in faith, hope, and love.<sup>147</sup>

In an article published in 1982, which is a key text in the development of Kilmartin's concept of authentic sacrifice, Kilmartin discusses the themes of priesthood, Church, and the Holy Spirit.<sup>148</sup> The article offers an opportunity to understand his fundamental ideas on the Church, the priest, and the roles of Christ and the Holy Spirit during the Eucharistic celebration. Kilmartin criticises the idea that Christ is the actor and the Church is only the recipient, which leads to a "narrow Christological interpretation of the role of the priest at the moment of consecration." Kilmartin discusses six themes which he believes are of central importance for the modern systematic treatment of ecclesiastical office: 1) the clerical state as a state of love; 2) ordination: as anointing of the Spirit; 3) the content of the charism of office; 4) *in persona Christi*: the representative role of the priest in relation to Christ; 5) *in persona Ecclesiae* – *in persona Christi*, i.e. not only that the priest represents Christ as the head of the Church, but also the community of the Church in Christ by the Spirit; and 6) the role of the priest in the Eucharist. Kilmartin states that there is a bond of love between the office bearer, the priest, and the Church which comes from the grace of the Spirit in

<sup>143</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen im 16. 17. Jahrhundert by Irmgard Pahl, Freiburg 1984," *Theological Studies* 45, no. 4 (1984), 744-745.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 745.

<sup>145</sup> Jerry Handspicker, "Review of Sacraments as God's Self-Giving: Sacramental Practice and Faith by James F. White," *Theology Today* 40, no. 4 (1983), 486-489.

<sup>146</sup> Kilmartin, "A Roman Catholic Response", 135-140.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>148</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Ecclesiastical Office, Power and Spirit," *Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America* 37 (1982), 98-108.

ordination, and every believer, including the priest, is one in Christ in Spirit. This is clear from the "we" prayers spoken during the liturgy of the Eucharist by the priest. Kilmartin refers to the fact that the community – not the priest – invokes the Spirit and that is why the prayer is said in the first person plural. In virtue of his special nearness to the mystery of Christ, the priest holds a singular role as the chief of the community. In his official acts, however, a priest represents the *Totus Christus*, the Head and the Body. Because Christ lives and works through his Spirit in the Church, the Church becomes a "comprehensive sacrament of salvation."<sup>149</sup> The Church manifests the unity of humanity with the divine being in Christ through the Spirit. The Church also unites every believer with one another. The mystery of the Eucharist does not necessarily "depend *per se* on whether he [the priest] is a believer. However, it depends on the faith of the Church."<sup>150</sup>

In 1984, Kilmartin's article, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the Sanctification of the Eucharistic Elements," offers the core of his Eucharistic theology. It is an important source to which I will frequently return throughout this dissertation.<sup>151</sup> After having studied a number of agreed upon statements issued by bilateral ecumenical commissions formed of Roman Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Orthodox, and Reformed theologians, Kilmartin raises questions about the extent to which an ecumenical agreement has actually been reached, particularly between Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologies. His reasoning is that if "later theologians of the Roman Catholic Church can use the same language as the Orthodox and, in turn, do accept the same concept of essential change of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ as the Orthodox, it would seem that full agreement on the theology of the sanctification of bread and wine is in sight."<sup>152</sup> Given that other churches, such as Lutherans or Anglo-Catholics, are strongly influenced by the medieval scholastic synthesis which is also the basis of Roman Catholic theology, for Kilmartin, the basic problem lies in the differences between Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologies.

In essence, in this article Kilmartin posits that the ecumenical problem at the heart of the subject of the Eucharist lies in the different positions of Orthodox and Roman Catholics on the sanctification of the Eucharistic elements, and that if these churches can arrive at a common understanding of this issue, then a much wider consensus between the churches about Eucharistic theology will be possible. This pre-supposes that a substantial consensus will be reached on the procession and mission of the Spirit. The key problem, Kilmartin believes, is that traditional Roman Catholic theology takes as its point of departure the personal mission of Christ (through his word, spoken by the minister), while for Orthodox theology, the point of departure is the personal mission of the Spirit. While Western theology awards the Spirit its mission by appropriation only, Orthodox theology awards the Spirit a proper and personal role. In order to overcome this issue, Kilmartin adopts the bestowal model of David Coffey, which will play a central role in his elaborated and mature concept of the authentic sacrifice. In the second part of this chapter, I will go more deeply into this model and its importance for the theological thought of Kilmartin.

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>151</sup> Kilmartin, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit," 225-253.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 225.



In 1987, Kilmartin published an essay, "Theology of the Sacraments: Toward a New Understanding of the Chief Rites of the Catholic Church," the title of which itself indicates a further progression in the development of his insights. In this text, Kilmartin outlines the contours of a renewed theology of the sacraments, placing the sacraments within the context of salvation history. Kilmartin is able to integrate the basic insights he gained from his study of the anthropological basis of Christian liturgy. God, Kilmartin believes, communicates Himself by means of human beings. Starting from this principle, Kilmartin now links the sacraments of the Church to the means of God's self-communication, which asks for a response on the part of the recipient, the human being, who responds to Him in faith

As a whole, this essay serves as an outline for his 1988 book, *Christian Liturgy*, in which Kilmartin tries to provide a comprehensive systematic theology of liturgy, and more specifically, of the sacraments.<sup>153</sup> In this work, he develops his Trinitarian concept in depth, bringing together ideas he had been accumulating since he began working as a sacramental theologian. Kilmartin investigates the classic patterns of Trinitarian theology to find possible points of integration with the work of the Holy Spirit. He reflects on the scholastic sacramental synthesis as the point of departure, and then systematically explains the notion of Christ's presence in the liturgy while explaining the central role of the Holy Spirit. As Kilmartin researched the scholastic views further, he realized that there was something missing; therefore, he integrates the works of the Spirit. Kilmartin attempts to enrich the traditional concepts of the Church and liturgy by developing a "dialogical" model in which the believers offer themselves through Christ by the Holy Spirit. He again employs the "bestowal model."<sup>154</sup> In his review, Meyer praised Kilmartin for his excellent treatment of the approach of Trinitarian Eucharistic theology.<sup>155</sup> Nevertheless, we can see that a fuller explanation for grounding this dialogical model in Trinitarian concepts is still lacking, especially with respect to a detailed explanation of the definition of sacrifice. In the foreword Kilmartin wrote in 1988 for Jean Corbon's book, *The Wellspring of Worship*, his theology of the Trinitarian model achieves a sharper focus. He repeats the main concepts of the Trinitarian model in two pages, and unfolds the purpose of a Trinitarian theology of sacrifice. God reveals Himself in Jesus who, after his death and resurrection, sends the Holy Spirit from the Father so that believers may be bound to the Son, who will bring them into personal communion with God the Father through the Church in faith.<sup>156</sup>

Kilmartin, in his article "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," published in 1989, continues his discussion on key issues regarding the relationship between the Church and the sacraments.<sup>157</sup> In the article, he reflects on, and responds to, current attempts

<sup>153</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I: Theology and Practice* (Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, 1988).

<sup>154</sup> Mary Collins, "Review of Christian Liturgy: Theology and Practice by Edward J. Kilmartin, Kansas City 1988," *Worship* 63, no. 2 (1989), 170-172. Also cf. Bernard J. Cooke, "Review of Christian Liturgy: Theology and Practice by Edward J. Kilmartin, Kansas City 1988," *Horizons* 18, no. 1 (1991). These models will be discussed in the latter part of this chapter.

<sup>155</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, xix. For the original cf. the German article Hans Bernhard Meyer, "Eine trinitarische Theologie der Liturgie und der Sakramente," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 113, no. 1 (1991), 37.

<sup>156</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *Foreword to Jean Corbon: The Wellspring of Worship*, trans. Mathew J. O'Connell (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 7-8.

<sup>157</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," *Theological Studies* 50, no. 3 (1989), 527-547.

in modern Catholic theology to renew the theology of the sacraments. In particular, he points to the new emphasis on the ecclesiological dimension, the question of the Institution of the sacraments by Christ, and the relationship between Christ and the Church, the role of the Spirit, the efficacy of the sacraments, and the faith of the individual. For Kilmartin, renewal is necessarily a slow process. A move towards a Trinitarian theology of the Eucharist has only just begun to impact the long-standing official theory and practice of Catholic theology. However, he believes that a progressive renewal will not only enrich practice, but this renewed practice will in turn deepen our understanding of the meaning of the sacraments, for theory determines practice, and practice determines theory.

In 1994, Kilmartin published an article entitled, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharist Theology: Towards the Third Millennium."<sup>158</sup> In this significant text Kilmartin develops his whole theology of the Eucharist and, according to Daly, it encapsulates the ideas Kilmartin explored in his (posthumously edited) book, *The Eucharist in the West*.<sup>159</sup> Kilmartin exposes the weakness of the later Thomistic synthesis, which is still part of what he calls the modern average theology of the Eucharist.

According to this average theology "the moment of consecration of the Eucharistic elements by the priest acting as representative of Christ is also the moment in which the priest offers the Eucharistic sacrifice under the same formality, that is, *in persona Christi*."<sup>160</sup> In this argument, the emphasis has shifted from the action of the Church *in persona ecclesiae* to the action of the priest acting *in persona Christi*. The result has been that the ecclesiological dimension of the Eucharist has been swallowed up by the dominant Christological dimension. The way out of this weak theology is by integrating the role of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharistic theology, a concept still emphasised in the Eastern churches.<sup>161</sup> (I will return to Kilmartin's ideas of the 'average theology' at greater length in the third chapter).

Kilmartin's final work, *The Eucharist in the West*, was published posthumously by the American Jesuits, thanks to the work of scholars such as Daly and Michael Fahey. According to Daly, who edited the draft found on Kilmartin's laptop after his death, this is Kilmartin's final word on the Trinitarian theology of authentic sacrifice, even if the definition of authentic sacrifice itself is not fully elaborated on as the work was not completed at the time of Kilmartin's death. Because of Kilmartin's "hasty composition" and "inconsistent style" it was necessary for Daly to smooth out much of the language and "decompress" the materials, as well as add the correct sources referred to by Kilmartin, in order to make sense of the concepts and meanings for readers. The essence of what motivated Kilmartin is expounded in a short section near the end of the book called, "Modern Average Catholic Theology of Eucharistic Sacrifice."

*The Eucharist in the West* contains the key theories that had already been explored in the article Kilmartin had published earlier that year. Thus, the question remains, 'What makes this book different?' The answer lies in the historical theology Kilmartin presents in the book of the Western developments in theology, liturgy, practice, and

<sup>158</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 405-457.

<sup>159</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, xv.

<sup>160</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 406.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 405-457.

the official teaching of the Church through various documents, and which shall be discussed later in this dissertation. He goes back as far as the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and gives ample attention to the Eastern sources of Western developments, divergences, and resources in the common tradition for rectifying Western inadequacies. Thus, the first half of the book could be considered an 'historical survey', starting with a late patristic Latin basis, passing from early concerns about consecration and sacrifice into early mediaeval and, next, early scholastic and high scholastic periods. The character of the second part of the book is rather systematic-theological. Kilmartin interprets Aquinas' theology of the Eucharist, while trying to keep it distinct from the view of the later Thomist School. Authors such as Giraudo are particularly important. For Kilmartin, a return to the theology of Eucharist found in the early Church Fathers is necessary, and this is what will actually slowly change the Church's focus. By contrast, a reliance on a too-narrow theology of consecration, combined with a tendency to separate the role of the priest from the celebrating Church, leads to the loss of true symbolism and to a problematic theology of the "fruits of the Mass."

#### ***2.4.4 CONCLUSION***

So far, we have offered a chronological review of Kilmartin's works, which will serve as a basis for our further study, in particular, his model of Trinitarian sacrifice. In reviewing these chronological writings, what becomes clear is that from his earliest to his latest works, Kilmartin has been dealing with several theological issues and their interrelatedness, in particular: the Trinity, God's self-communication, the Church, the sacraments, the liturgical worship, the work of the Holy Spirit, the EPs, the early writings of the Patristic Fathers, the Reformation, the Council of Trent, and the Scholastic approach towards the priesthood. While working on various themes, he eventually arrived at formulating his definition of a Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice. While studying Kilmartin's publications in their chronological order, one gets an idea of the genesis of his model. A more systematic view of his Trinitarian perspective of authentic sacrifice starts to appear only at the end of his career. In the first two decades of his writings, Kilmartin does not yet have an explicit definition of authentic sacrifice, although in all the books, articles, and reviews written at that time he touches on the ideas related to authentic sacrifice. Rather than starting with definition or theory and next supporting it with arguments, Kilmartin first collected ideas and concepts and then brought them together in his definition. From his readings of many theologians of both the East and West, he drew on a great wealth of knowledge and knit their thoughts together carefully to create his definition. It is perhaps only in retrospect that we can truly appreciate the quantity and quality of Kilmartin's theological contribution to Church teachings.

With this background, it is now time to begin our consideration of the various basic concepts that underlie Kilmartin's theology of authentic sacrifice from a Trinitarian perspective.

## 2.5 KILMARTIN'S BASIC THEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

After presenting a chronological overview of Kilmartin's works relevant to the theme of this study, I will now introduce some key theological concepts that lie at the basis of Kilmartin's theology. These concepts are interrelated, and taken together, they are of crucial importance for our understanding of the Trinitarian model of sacrifice proposed by Kilmartin. Throughout his studies, Kilmartin dedicated considerable attention to the Trinity, Christ the Logos, the sacraments, the Holy Spirit, the Church, the liturgy, the Eucharist, and the priesthood.

### 2.5.1 TRINITY, CHRISTOLOGY, AND PNEUMATOLOGY

In his recent study on Kilmartin, Gabriel Pivarnik argues that Kilmartin worked towards the integration of the doctrine of the Trinity. For Kilmartin, such integration is not only possible, but also must remain the goal of any theology of Christian worship. Part of the task at hand is to be on familiar terms with the Trinitarian dimension of all aspects of the economy of salvation: "creation, history, humankind, grace, incarnation, mission of the Spirit, and the Church. All aspects of our salvation are the work of the Trinity and must be understood in terms of this mystery."<sup>162</sup>

Kilmartin's theology of the Trinity has three major principles. The first one concerns the question of whether one should start from the unity of the divine substance or from the three divine persons. Earlier in our discussion on Rahner, we described the tension between the Eastern emphasis on the *three-ness* of God and the Western emphasis on consubstantiality or 'oneness in being'.<sup>163</sup> Rahner argued for starting from the *threeness* rather than from the *oneness*. Kilmartin is aware of the disparities inherent in both the Eastern and Western viewpoints. He sees the nucleus of this disagreement in their points of departure. Whereas the East begins with the *three-ness* of persons and proceeds from there to develop an understanding of consubstantiality, the West begins with consubstantiality of three persons and proceeds from that point. Kilmartin suggests that, "these two views ... cannot be made to coincide."<sup>164</sup> Throughout his works, Kilmartin opts for the Western view.<sup>165</sup>

The second major principle is that he takes into account Rahner's focus on the intrinsic relation between the immanent and economic Trinity.<sup>166</sup> Earlier we stated that, for Rahner, the economic Trinity is the immanent Trinity, and this was adopted by Kilmartin in his studies of the Eucharist. The expression 'immanent' Trinity for Kilmartin, as for Rahner, refers to the mystery of the inner-divine life of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. These three persons form a unity in the Godhead and are the "source of the economic Trinity."<sup>167</sup> "They are a unity of nature or a natural unanimity."<sup>168</sup> They are not only "related to each other but in *each other*

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<sup>162</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 103.

<sup>163</sup> See p. 56

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 120-121.

<sup>166</sup> See p. 56

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>168</sup> Kilmartin, "Lutheranism and Transubstantiation," 403.

in a dynamic circumincession."<sup>169</sup> Kilmartin believes that Rahner's axiom can help to understand the "relation between God's self-revelation and the inner-Trinitarian life."<sup>170</sup> Like Rahner, Kilmartin thinks that our theological reflection should start with the economic Trinity.<sup>171</sup>

The third major principle is that Kilmartin emphasizes the characteristics of the relationships and communication between the divine persons, both in the immanent Trinity and in the economic Trinity. This principle is fully developed only in Kilmartin's later works. The Father and the Son relate and communicate to each other in the form of love. We shall say more about this in the discussion of the so-called 'bestowal model' as interpreted by Kilmartin.<sup>172</sup>

### 2.5.1.1 Logos and Spirit Christology

According to Kilmartin, encounters between God and humankind are accounted for by descending and ascending Christologies. These encounters are relived everyday in the life of the Church through its sacramental activities. Kilmartin relates these two corresponding Christologies, namely: 1) the *descending* Christology that commences with the incarnation and from there continues to interpret the salvific work of Jesus and his sending of the Spirit; and 2) the *ascending* Christology that stresses the consecration of the humanness of Jesus, "created by the Godhead as such," by the Spirit, which elevates Him into "union" with the Logos.<sup>173</sup>

According to Kilmartin, classical theology puts too much emphasis on the descending Logos Christology. Kilmartin wants to correct this, while still allowing for a proper theological function of a Logos Christology. In an attempt to insist on the Spirit Christology, Kilmartin seems to have borrowed from the Dutch theologian Piet Schoonenberg [1911-1999], a representative of Spirit Christology, who had made a series of criticisms on the Christological doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon, calling it too abstract. Schoonenberg wrote his Christology from a direction that differed from the Council's. In the Chalcedon Christology, the pre-existent divine Logos assumes a human nature, while for Schoonenberg, the divinity of the Logos is disclosed in and through the person of Jesus and his humanity.<sup>174</sup> Jesus becomes related to the Logos through the Spirit, which is bestowed on Him. Kilmartin endorses Schoonenberg's claim that "the *Logos* becomes person in Jesus' human reality and, at the same time, the human person is sustained by, or enhypostatic in God's Word."<sup>175</sup> Kilmartin has no difficulties with the belief that the human person "Jesus is personalized by the Logos."

<sup>169</sup>Edward J. Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 67.

<sup>170</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 114.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 120.

<sup>172</sup> See p. 86

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 161-162, 214-215.

<sup>174</sup> Robert C. Ware, "Christology in Historical Perspective," *The Heythrop Journal* 15, (1974), 62; Also cf. Marilyn Sunderman, "Jesus, the Human Face of God, in the Christology of Piet Schoonenberg," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 5, no. 3 (2015), 15. For the original, cf. Piet Schoonenberg, *The Christ* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1974).

<sup>175</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," note 26 on page 103. Also cf. page 67 for the explanation on Schoonenberg's ideas. For the original cf. Piet Schoonenberg, "Spirit Christology and Logos Christology," *Bijdragen* 38, (1977), 364-365.

Kilmartin thinks that Spirit Christology was dominant in the NT but "that after the New Testament period, apart from the Syrian tradition, the uniqueness of Jesus Christ is explained almost exclusively in terms of a Logos and not a Spirit Christology."<sup>176</sup> Yet, he also thinks that "a personal role, a role properly His own, is awarded to the Spirit by the Greek and Latin Fathers both in the sanctification of the humanity of Jesus and in the work of continuing his mission in the world."<sup>177</sup> As far as later developments are concerned especially in the West, scholasticism awarded the role of the Spirit in the incarnation of Jesus "by way of appropriation." The entire Trinity was supposed to have acted as "one principle" in the sanctification of the humanity of Jesus. Hence, the role of the Spirit in Jesus' incarnation was considered merely "accidental."<sup>178</sup> This was not the case in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, and definitely not in the East.

For Kilmartin, the traditional Catholic theology attributed to the Spirit the role of sanctifier.<sup>179</sup> Kilmartin favours the 4<sup>th</sup> century Antiochene tradition and its teachings and puts much emphasis on the Holy Spirit in relation to the person and work of the Son. In the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, the adherents of the Antiochene School<sup>180</sup> maintained that there is a personal and proper mission of the Holy Spirit. There is also a correlation between the personal and proper mission of the Holy Spirit in the economy of salvation and the personal and proper mission of the Word of God.<sup>181</sup> This School emphasised the humanity of Jesus as revealed in Scripture, especially in the synoptic Gospels, according to which the Spirit was instrumental from the event of incarnation onward. In this line of thought, it is the Holy Spirit that comes down upon Jesus at his baptism, consecrates Him to the Logos, leads Him to the desert, gives Him the power over the devil, and finally resurrects Him.<sup>182</sup> Having sanctified Jesus in baptism, the Spirit continues to remain with him. Due to this anointing by the Spirit, Jesus could carry out his mission of the Father, and so too could his disciples. However, there is a problem inherent in this line of thinking. While stressing the importance of the mission of the Spirit, the emphasis on the fact that it was the Spirit that anointed Jesus and transformed his disciples, and thus can transform the lives of believers now, might undermine the special mission of Jesus and his unique sacrifice. This has serious consequences for Eucharistic theology.

After the Middle Ages, there were some attempts in the West to renew the theology of the proper role of the Spirit. Scholars like Denis Petau in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and M.J. Scheeben in the 19<sup>th</sup> century are a couple who tried to expose and correct the shortcomings of classical Logos Christology. Kilmartin thinks that only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was H. Mühlen successful in trying to retrieve the NT teachings and his

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<sup>176</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 65.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>179</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 129.

<sup>180</sup> The important 4<sup>th</sup>-century adherents are John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia, while the 5<sup>th</sup>-century adherents are Nestorius and Theodoret of Cyrus. For detailed information on Theodoret and others cf. Paul B. Clayton, *The Christology of Theodoret of Cyrus: Antiochene Christology from the Council of Ephesus (431) to the Council of Chalcedon (451)*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>181</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 432.

<sup>182</sup> Richard W. Kropf, *The Faith of Jesus: The Jesus of History and the Stages of Faith* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2006), 116.

“presentation seems basically correct” since it “harmonizes with the ancient tradition in a general way.” However, unanswered questions still remain even in Mühlen’s works.<sup>183</sup>

Besides highlighting the Spirit’s consecration and elevation of Jesus to the Logos, Spirit Christology also has another function, namely, explaining the presence of Christ visible in the Church and liturgy. According to Kilmartin, the risen Lord is active in the Church in and through the Spirit. He reviews the current official ecclesiastical and scholarly reflections on the modes of Christ’s presence in the liturgy. For Spirit Christology, Kilmartin bases himself on the NT sources traced in Revelation and the Epistle to the Hebrews, which locate Jesus, the risen Lord, at the right hand of the Father. Sitting at God’s right hand expresses “the idea that the risen Lord rules all history, that he is present to the world in power (Acts 2. 33-36; Col. 1. 15-20).”<sup>184</sup> Having risen from the dead, Jesus continues the Spirit-filled ministry in a new way. The Spirit functions as the “source of continuity between Jesus [risen] and the believers.” Christ continues to remain Christ; however, his existence is now “in the Spirit.”<sup>185</sup> If Christ continues to remain, it means that the once for all Cross event “continues to be realized in the world in the power of the Spirit.”<sup>186</sup>

From the very beginning of his career, Kilmartin had great interest in Spirit Christology especially for ecumenical reasons. But it is only at the end of his career that he formulated the bestowal model as a systematic tool for the investigation of the intrinsic relationship of persons within the immanent and economic Trinity and its implications to Church, liturgy, priesthood, and sacraments. We shall now turn to Kilmartin’s interpretation of this model.

### 2.5.1.2 Bestowal Model

In his later works, Kilmartin adopts what is known as the bestowal model of the Trinity. In this section, we shall discuss this bestowal model and its key ideas. First, we shall summarize the view of the Australian theologian David Coffey, who developed the bestowal model, starting from Augustine.<sup>187</sup> Kilmartin’s later work makes use of Coffey’s concepts in depth.<sup>188</sup> In a book published after Kilmartin’s death, Coffey renewed and refined the bestowal model and renamed it the “return

<sup>183</sup> Kilmartin, “A Modern Approach to the Word of God,” 66-67.

<sup>184</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 303.

<sup>185</sup> Kilmartin, “A Modern Approach to the Word of God,” 65 & 67.

<sup>186</sup> Kilmartin, “Theology of the Sacraments,” 155.

<sup>187</sup> Coffey first presented his “bestowal model” in *Grace: The Gift of the Holy Spirit*, published in 1979. Kilmartin made extensive use of this book in his 1984 paper, “The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the Sanctification of the Eucharistic Elements.”

<sup>188</sup> Edward P. Hahnenberg, “The Ministerial Priesthood and Liturgical Anamnesis in the Thoughts of Edward J. Kilmartin, S.J.,” *Theological Studies* 66, no. 2 (2005), 259. David Coffey himself admires in one of his articles the way Kilmartin develops this concept. Cf. David M. Coffey, “A Proper Mission of the Holy Spirit,” *Theological Studies* 47, no. 2 (1986) 232. Kilmartin’s later works are comprised of his book *Christian Liturgy* published in 1988 and the article, “The Active Role of Christ,” published in 1984. Some of the works of Coffey which Kilmartin cites are David Coffey, *Grace: The Gift of the Holy Spirit* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Marquette University Press, 1979); David Coffey, “The ‘Incarnation’ Of the Holy Spirit in Christ,” *Theological Studies* 45, no. 3 (1984), 466-480; and Coffey, “A Proper Mission of the Holy Spirit.”

model,” not as a correction but because “bestowal” does not make clear the contrast to the procession model.<sup>189</sup>

#### 2.5.1.2.1 Coffey's Bestowal Model based on the Mutual Love Theory of Augustine

The background of Coffey's bestowal model is provided by the Augustinian analogy of mutual love between the Father and the Son. According to Coffey, Augustine proposed two models in Trinitarian theology: 1) the procession model and 2) the mutual love theory, which Coffey calls “the bestowal model.”<sup>190</sup> An investigation into the interpretation of Augustine and Coffey can shed more light on understanding how Kilmartin thinks of the procession and the bestowal model.

Coffey has few things to say about the procession model. Firstly, the procession model, which has become dominant in theology, is about the procession of the Son (together with the Spirit) from the Father and is associated with descending Christology.<sup>191</sup> Although in God there is no time and temporal succession, there is yet a “real (and not just a logical) order.” The term Coffey uses for *order* is “*taxis*.” Accordingly, the ‘*taxis*’ of the model goes this way: Father → Son → Holy Spirit. Secondly, Coffey is also aware of the ecumenical issue between the churches of the East and the West on the question of whether the Son has any role to play in the procession of the Spirit, the question of the *Filioque*.<sup>192</sup> Coffey refers to the Gospel of John and its descending Christology for the procession model. The biblical verses from Jn.15:26, where Jesus promises to send the Spirit from the Father, confirm the fact that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. However, there are other biblical roots such as John 16:7 (“I will send the Spirit to you”) which confirm that it is from the Son that the Spirit proceeds. The Eastern Orthodox Church bases the unity of the Godhead predominantly in the person of God the Father, from whom the Son, who is consubstantial to the Father, is being eternally born; and from whom the Spirit eternally proceeds. In Western thinking, however, the unity of the divine persons was based more in a metaphysical divine essence. Augustine seems to have coined the phrase that the Spirit “proceeds from the Father through the Son,” which also became a popular idea throughout the West.<sup>193</sup> Coffey takes the ecumenical discussion about the *Filioque* seriously, but he thinks that this question should be addressed only after the more fundamental issue about the adequacy of the procession model has been settled.<sup>194</sup> Thirdly, in contrast to the procession model, Coffey formulated his bestowal model based on an alternative view on the Trinitarian relations that he finds in Augustine's ‘mutual love theory’ and which also has strong biblical evidence. According to this theory, the Holy Spirit functions as a common gift between the Father and the Son. Augustine says that the Holy Spirit is bestowed by the Father to the Son and then the Son bestows the Spirit to the Father. The *taxis* then becomes: Father -- Holy Spirit -- Son.<sup>195</sup> Augustine's proposal was developed by Coffey in his

<sup>189</sup> David Coffey, *Deus Trinitas: The Doctrine of the Triune God* (New York: Oxford, 1999), 43.

<sup>190</sup> David Coffey, “The Holy Spirit as the Mutual Love of the Father and the Son,” *Theological Studies* 51, no. 2 (1990), 207. Also cf. Myk Habets, *The Anointed Son: A Trinitarian Spirit Christology* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2010), 207.

<sup>191</sup> Coffey, *Deus Trinitas: The Doctrine of the Triune God*, 5.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>193</sup> Rupert Eric Davies, *Making Sense of the Creeds* (London: Epworth, 1987), 39.

<sup>194</sup> Coffey, *Deus Trinitas: The Doctrine of the Triune God*, 4, 46-47.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.



bestowal model. Coffey starts from the economic Trinity (the "sending" or the missions) and then transposes it to the immanent Trinity.

In his interpretation of Augustine, Coffey argues that Augustine formulates the mutual love theory by establishing the relationship between the persons in the Trinity. The Father and the Son have the same essence; however, they are distinct from each other. The Father is not the Son; the Son is not the Father. Yet, because there is no difference in substance, we also have to say that the Father is in the Son and the Son is in the Father.<sup>196</sup> Even the names themselves of 'Father' and 'Son' contain within them the relationship to the other, i.e. the opposed relationship of Father and Son, mutually defining one another. When it comes to the Spirit, the opposed relation cannot be applied. It means that while it is possible to say the Spirit is the Spirit of the Father, it is not possible to use it in reverse order, i.e. the Father of the Spirit. The Father is only the Father of the Son and not of the Spirit. The same applies to the Son too, i.e. we can say the Spirit of the Son but not the Son of the Spirit.<sup>197</sup> In order for Augustine to solve the problem of opposed relations, Coffey argues, it is necessary for him to use another term which can establish the opposed relationship. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of both the Father and the Son. So, who is the Spirit?

For Augustine, the Holy Spirit, "is a kind of inexpressible communion or fellowship of Father and Son, and perhaps he is given this name just because the same name can be applied to the Father and the Son ... seeing that both Father and Son are holy and both are spirit."<sup>198</sup> Quoting from 1 John 4:7 where God is portrayed as love, Augustine said that the Holy Spirit is also love. This love is mutually given as a gift between the Father and the Son. If the Spirit can be understood as the gift of the Father and the Son, then this solves the issue of an opposed relationship, i.e. the Spirit is the gift of the Father to the Son and the gift of the Son to the Father. In this way, Coffey says, Augustine clarifies the Spirit's place in the Godhead and formulates his mutual love theory.

In Augustine's mutual love theory, Coffey argues, "the Father bestows his love on the Son, generated by him, and the Son in return bestows his love on the Father, this mutual love being the Holy Spirit."<sup>199</sup> The result is that both the Father and the Son are "co-principles of the Holy Spirit."<sup>200</sup> In other words, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from a single principle,<sup>201</sup> and He transmits to us the common love by which the Father and the Son love each other.<sup>202</sup>

Coffey himself acknowledges that the bestowal model is closer to the procession model of the East, which starts with the distinction of persons in the Trinity: "The bestowal model moves toward the *personal* unity of the Father and the Son (in the Holy Spirit), while the procession model moves to clarify their *essential* unity."<sup>203</sup> However, Coffey claims that the bestowal model is also compatible with the procession model of the West, which was also elaborated on by Augustine through a

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>197</sup> Augustine *De Trinitate* 5. 13.13-16.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 5. 3.12.

<sup>199</sup> Coffey, *Grace: The Gift of the Holy Spirit*, 11.

<sup>200</sup> Coffey, "The Holy Spirit as the Mutual Love of the Father and the Son," 220.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., 193.

<sup>202</sup> Kilmartin, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit," 246.

<sup>203</sup> Coffey, "A Proper Mission of the Holy Spirit," 234-235.

psychological analogy. In that Western model, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the (essential) act of divine love, rather than being the personal bond between Father and Son: "There is no incompatibility ... in saying on the one hand that the Holy Spirit proceeds according to the divine love (procession model in its psychological specification), and on the other hand that He is the mutual love of the Father and the Son (bestowal model). It is simply a matter of which of the two irreducible Trinitarian data, the unity of nature or the distinction of persons, one chooses as point of departure."<sup>204</sup> Coffey believes that Augustine did not integrate the procession model and the 'mutual love' model.<sup>205</sup>

Besides Augustine, Coffey also takes his cues from Richard of St. Victor (1110–1173), goes on to build on the works of Scheeben and Mühlen, but mainly relies on the work of Rahner.<sup>206</sup> Coffey considers that Augustine's theory has the potency to reconcile East and the West but warns that the theory presupposes the *Filioque*. However, he thinks that the mutual love theory offers an interpretation of the *Filioque* that differs from the classical one, which focuses on the procession of the Spirit from both the Father and the Son as the continuation of the procession of the Son from the Father (generation). Unlike this classical idea of the *Filioque*, which is an outward-moving model, mutual love theory is an inward moving model in that the Son, having moved out of the Father, is reclaimed by the Father's love. He returns to the Father in that love, which He has made now his own.<sup>207</sup>

Not everyone favours Coffey's arguments. Ted Peters, for instance, comments that Coffey's treatment of the Holy Spirit can be compared to a divine football which could be carried or passed around. From this perspective, the tendency to neglect the personhood in the relationship is likely high.<sup>208</sup>

#### 2.5.1.2.2 The Bestowal Model according to Kilmartin

Kilmartin adopts Coffey's ideas about the bestowal model but adds some modifications to it.<sup>209</sup> The procession model, for Kilmartin, does not fulfill the goal of liturgical theology in relation to human beings' participation in the divine life of God because it explains only the processions from the Father to the Son and to the Spirit (both in the immanent and in the economy Trinity) but not the reciprocal movement

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 235.

<sup>205</sup> Coffey, *Deus Trinitas: The Doctrine of the Triune God*, 151. We come back to this in the next section.

<sup>206</sup> Throughout his work on Coffey, Declan O'Byrne indicates Coffey as a good example of someone influenced by Rahner especially in the area of Spirit Christology. Cf. Declan O'Byrne, *Spirit Christology and Trinity in the Theology of David Coffey*, Studies in Theology Society and Culture, vol. 4 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010). Also cf. David Coffey, "Spirit Christology and the Trinity", in *Advents of the Spirit: An Introduction to the Current Study of Pneumatology*, ed. Bradford E. Hinze and D. Lyle Dabney (Marquette: Marquette University Press, 2001).

<sup>207</sup> Coffey, "The Holy Spirit as the Mutual Love of the Father and the Son," 220.

<sup>208</sup> Peters, *God as Trinity*, 61-72.

<sup>209</sup> Kilmartin is criticized by Declan O'Byrne for his over-assuming tendency on Coffey's positions. O'Byrne thinks that Kilmartin has not really attempted to explain the considerations of Coffey's model. He simply inserts Coffey's work because it suits the formulation of his theology of sacrifice, although he takes the liberty of suggesting some modifications in Coffey's approach. Cf. O'Byrne, *Spirit Christology and Trinity in the Theology of David Coffey*, 16. ref to note, 39 in the same book.

of return of the Son to Father through the Spirit. The latter movement is crucial for the relevance of the doctrine of the Trinity for liturgical theology because, in Kilmartin's view, liturgical theology is about how human beings are returned to God to share in his divine, inner-Trinitarian life.

Since the traditional procession model does not amplify the personal and proper mission of the Holy Spirit, which Kilmartin considers vital for Eucharistic theology, it was inspiring to him to formulate a model whereby the personal and proper mission of the Spirit in the economy of redemption could be emphasised. Kilmartin explains the personal and proper role of the Holy Spirit via the bestowal model and through ideas he took from Rahner. According to Rahner, in the self-communication of God, especially through the hypostatic union, the world is no longer a non-being, since it is filled with the humanity of the Son, the Logos. Therefore, through the hypostatic union, the Creator-creature gap is overcome, since the Son fills the created world with his being. This fullness of revelation in the hypostatic union compels one to study world history even before the birth of Christ (and the history of Israel) because the Spirit is already at work before that. When the role of the Spirit is acknowledged fully, the Spirit becomes the driving force which moves the world towards the Creator. The incarnation is then seen as the highest point of the Spirit's work which moves the world towards God.<sup>210</sup> These ideas of Rahner about the return of the world to God and the proper role of the Spirit therein are in line with Coffey's.<sup>211</sup>

Following Coffey, Kilmartin highlights Augustine's idea of the Spirit as a bond between the Father and Son.<sup>212</sup> Kilmartin follows Coffey's criticism of Augustine and writes that Augustine simply juxtaposes "the fact of procession" of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son "acting as one principle," and "the manner of the procession ... that the Spirit proceeds as the love of Father and Son acting now not in unison but distinctly, i.e. in loving each other" so that the Spirit appears as the bond that unites Father and Son.<sup>213</sup> Kilmartin summarizes Coffey and argues that Coffey integrates the two approaches of Augustine into his bestowal model. Moreover, and this is a second important issue, Kilmartin points out that Coffey thought that "this new model serves as a remedy for both Eastern and Western theologies of the Trinity, which have been preoccupied with the fact but not the purpose of the procession of the Spirit."<sup>214</sup>

As we saw, according to Coffey's bestowal model, the Son proceeds from the Father by generation. The Spirit also proceeds from the Father. The Spirit is bestowed on the Son as the object of Father's love. The Son, in return, bestows the Spirit back on to the Father as the object of his own love. This bestowing of the Spirit takes places in such a way that the *perichoresis* or 'circumincession' is established by the mutual interpenetrating of the divine persons.<sup>215</sup>

<sup>210</sup> Rahner, *On the Theology of the Incarnation*, 105-120.

<sup>211</sup> For more detail, cf. Coffey, "The 'Incarnation' Of the Holy Spirit in Christ,"; David Coffey, "The Theandric Nature of Christ," *Theological Studies* 60, no. 3 (1999), 405-431.

<sup>212</sup> Kilmartin, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit," 246.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 246-247.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

Kilmartin asserts that the bestowal model reflects the “dialogical” character of the liturgy, which shows God addressing humanity and humanity responding.<sup>216</sup> People are in dialogue with God through Christ in the Spirit, which puts them in communion with the life of God. The result offers a theological enrichment to modern day sacramental and liturgical theology, in Kilmartin’s view. We shall particularly underline the significances of this model within the liturgical celebrations in the latter part of this dissertation.<sup>217</sup>

Kilmartin believes that our understanding of the sending of the Holy Spirit needs further explanation and requires an alteration. Kilmartin pushes for far greater emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in his sanctification theology. He does so in two ways. First, he criticizes the dominant roles in Western theology of the *ad extra* axiom and the related notion of ‘appropriation’. Second, he criticizes the procession model both in its Eastern and Western forms for ignoring the character of the (immanent) procession of the Spirit and how it relates to the (economic) sanctification of human beings and their return to God. In what follows, I shall discuss both of Kilmartin’s criticisms.

Kilmartin believes a reinvestigation of the Western *ad extra* axiom, in light of issues associated with the flow of grace, is necessary. In general, the *ad extra* axiom refers to the classical interpretation of God’s Trinity as formulated by Augustine. He said, “the externally-directed works of the Trinity are indivisible” (*opera Trinitatis ad extra indivisa*); these works pertain to creation and salvation. The *ad extra* axiom poses difficulties because it suggests that the distinction of the three persons is not relevant in God’s salvific activity towards the world and towards human beings in particular.

Another related term that needs attention is ‘appropriation’. Appropriation comes from medieval Trinitarian theology and is contrasted with the term ‘*propria*’, i.e. properties which distinguish one person from the other. Appropriation means something which actually belongs to all three persons together in virtue of the one divine nature but which is attributed or appropriated to just one of the persons because of a certain similarity with the *propria* of that person.<sup>218</sup> The problem of the concept of *appropriation* is that, again, the real distinctions between the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit tend to become irrelevant in the work of creation and sanctification of human beings.

Kilmartin is in favor of a reinterpretation of the *ad extra* axiom. As soon as it is established that the *ad extra* axiom can accommodate a great deal more than a mere appropriation of actions to the persons within the Trinity, Kilmartin’s theology would be in a better position to do justice to the mission of the Holy Spirit and thus expand the bestowal model. For Kilmartin, the common explanation of the *ad extra* axiom is not satisfactory since it does not make room for the personal mission of the Holy Spirit. In Kilmartin’s view, Eastern theology affirms there is a personal and proper mission of the Holy Spirit, whereas in Western theology there is no personal mission

<sup>216</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 102 & 350.

<sup>217</sup> See p. 122

<sup>218</sup> For more details on the Trinitarian appropriation cf. Gilles Emery, *The Trinitarian Theology of St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Francesca Aran Murphy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 312-337. Also cf. Bruce D. Marshall, “Action and person: Do Palamas and Aquinas Agree About the Spirit?,” *St Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (1995), 399-401.

of the Holy Spirit<sup>219</sup> and “the sanctification was linked to the Spirit only by way of appropriation.”<sup>220</sup> The scholastic view considered the sanctifying work as a work common to all three divine persons on the basis of the ‘ad extra’ axiom.<sup>221</sup> Consequently, according to Kilmartin, the Western tradition, especially the scholastics, did not give enough importance to the role of the Holy Spirit in their liturgical tradition and theology. Kilmartin points out that the influence of the *ad extra* axiom is also seen in the Church’s documents. It appears in the encyclical letter on the Holy Spirit, *Divinum illud munus* (1897) by Pope Leo XIII. Moreover, the encyclical *Mystici corporis* (1943) by Pope Pius XII refers the axiom “to the Trinity insofar as ‘supreme efficient cause’.”<sup>222</sup> Kilmartin senses certain changes especially in recent theological scholarship in the Catholic Church. For instance, he affirms that the encyclical by Pope John’s Paul II, *Dominum et Vivicantem* (1986) somewhat stresses the personal mission of the Spirit which is closer to Eastern thinking, although the Pope writes he is not intending to resolve the issues connected to the role of the Holy Spirit.<sup>223</sup>

Besides criticizing the *ad extra* axiom and the notion of appropriation in Western theology, Kilmartin also comes up with a more fundamental criticism directed against the classical theology of both the East and the West as based on the procession model. He criticizes both Eastern and Western theology for having “been preoccupied with the fact but not the purpose of the procession of the Spirit.”<sup>224</sup> Kilmartin, according to Hahnenberg, concludes that the procession model does not truly explain nor signify the purpose of the spiration of the Holy Spirit.<sup>225</sup> Thus, “the direction is toward an infinite void.”<sup>226</sup> According to Kilmartin, this goes both for the Western (*Filioque*) and for the Eastern (*per Spiritum*) versions of the procession model, even though Eastern theology allows for a proper mission of the Spirit in the economic Trinity. The procession model within the immanent Trinity has a linear shape:

**Eastern: FATHER    → SON    ——— (through Son)    → SPIRIT**

**Western: FATHER    → SON    ——— (and Son)    → SPIRIT<sup>227</sup>**

In both figures, one can see the direction of the Spirit moving to an infinite void, which indicates the absence of the Spirit’s returning back to the Father. The procession model implies only a one-way direction.

<sup>219</sup> Kilmartin, “The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit,” 233-234. For a detailed study on the Eastern and the Western position on the role of the Holy Spirit, cf. Edward Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>220</sup> Kilmartin, “A Modern Approach to the Word of God,” 66.

<sup>221</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 8.

<sup>222</sup> Kilmartin, “The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit,” 237-238.

<sup>223</sup> Kilmartin, “The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology,” 434.

<sup>224</sup> Kilmartin, “The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit,” 247.

<sup>225</sup> Hahnenberg, “The Ministerial Priesthood and Liturgical Anamnesis,” 259.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid; Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 131.

<sup>227</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 131.

Kilmartin, like Coffey, complements the traditional procession model with the bestowal model. "When applied to the economic Trinity, it [viz., the bestowal model] has the advantage of being able to integrate a descending and ascending Christology in a completely consistent way."<sup>228</sup> Kilmartin does value the traditional approach of the procession model, which, in fact, originates from the texts in the Gospel of John, namely, his account on the personification of the Logos becoming real flesh in the person of Jesus [Jn.1:14]. The Logos-Christology, which involves the coming of the Logos into the world according to the economy of salvation, is connected to the generation of the Son by the Father within the immanent Trinity. Nevertheless, the procession model does not explain how, in the self-communication of God, believers, including the human Jesus, are unified to the Logos and to God. Kilmartin believes that in the economic Trinity, the procession model fails to balance the presence of God and his self-communication both in Jesus and in other human beings. The procession model may account for the *fact* of the sanctification of humanity (including Jesus) but it does not show that the *process* of sanctification is "also in formal correspondence with the inner being of God."<sup>229</sup>

According to Scripture, the Spirit was sent not only during the baptism of Jesus but also on the Pentecost. So, how does one understand the Pentecostal event where the Spirit has been sent by the Father and the Son? Kilmartin explains the sending of the Spirit at Jesus' baptism and the Pentecostal event via the bestowal model: there is not only the sending of the eternal Son (Incarnation) and of Spirit (to Jesus and to the believers) (descending movement) but also an ascending movement, the "return" of the incarnated Son, who gives the Spirit back to the Father. This descending and ascending movement in the economy of salvation corresponds with the circular movement in the immanent Trinity. The Father eternally bestows the Spirit on the Son as the object of the Father's love. The Son, in return, eternally bestows the Spirit back to the Father as the object of the Son's love.<sup>230</sup> In this way, the bestowal model begins "from below," answers important questions on humanity's potential union with the Creator, and shows the correspondence between the movements on the level of the economic Trinity with those on the level of the immanent Trinity.<sup>231</sup>

As to the sending of the Spirit, the bestowal model explains first the special mission entrusted to the Spirit in consecrating the human nature of Jesus and consequently unveiling his true identity as the Son of God (Spirit Christology). Secondly, because this mission of the Spirit was to consecrate the human Jesus, it also extends to the consecration of the whole Church as his body, which initially occurred in the Pentecost event. According to Kilmartin, Jesus is fully possessed by the Spirit during his earthly life and He includes the entirety of humanity in Himself. Because He is fully possessed by the Spirit, He is fully spiritualized in his glorification and sends the Spirit to bring all people into union with Himself and so into the life of the Father.<sup>232</sup>

The Pentecostal event of the Spirit is to be understood as a "new form of presence in the Church and in the world."<sup>233</sup> It explicitly expresses Jesus' love for his fellow

<sup>228</sup> Kilmartin, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit," 247.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 248.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., 247.

<sup>231</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 160 & 174.

<sup>232</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 68.

<sup>233</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 155.

human beings, while it also implicitly expresses the “essential dimension of his love of the Father.”<sup>234</sup> The sending of the Spirit by the risen Christ has a purpose – to animate the Church – and “is a theandric act” [a divine act flowing from his glorified humanity].<sup>235</sup> This sending of the Spirit draws a person into union with Christ to love the Father in the one Son. In other words, the Spirit anoints every believer in Christ and binds them to Him. Kilmartin claims that the sending of the Spirit by the risen Christ is “a prolongation of the inner-Trinitarian answering love of the Son for the Father.” It is a supreme act of love of the Father and “is ordered to enabling humankind to love the Father in, with and through the one Son.”<sup>236</sup> The believers are hence called to answer in love to the Father through Jesus in the Spirit. Kilmartin also writes that Jesus already sent the Spirit during his earthly life, but “the sending of the Spirit by the authoritative acts of Jesus during his earthly life... [was] limited to individuals and by the temporally-conditioned historical acts. The transhistorical sending of the Spirit by the risen Lord on the Church is a once-for-all act which perdures during the time of the Church.”<sup>237</sup> We shall deal with this issue in the section on Kilmartin’s ecclesiology.<sup>238</sup>

### 2.5.1.3 Conclusion

We have been exploring three key theological issues: Trinitarian theology, Logos and Spirit Christology, and the bestowal model. Firstly, in Kilmartin’s analysis of the theology of Trinity, we can see that, like Rahner, he chose as his starting point the *three-ness* of God and the economic Trinity, which has its correlation in the immanent Trinity.

Secondly, from the discussion on the Logos and Spirit Christology, we can conclude that Kilmartin holds on to the view that it is through Jesus, the Logos, and his mediation that an encounter between God and humans occurs. However, he thinks it unfortunate that the Spirit Christology that was dominant in the NT period lost its authority over time. The 4<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene tradition tried to restore it by maintaining a personal and proper mission of the Holy Spirit. Kilmartin asserts that the 20<sup>th</sup>-century Spirit Christology marks a return to the NT view. In his personal and proper mission, it is the Spirit who is instrumental in consecrating and elevating Jesus to the Logos. The Spirit also continues to make Christ present in the Church.

Thirdly, we discussed Kilmartin’s bestowal model which he developed from Coffey’s work. We summarized Coffey’s interpretation of the teachings of Augustine who proposed a procession model as well as the mutual love theory. His procession model focused upon the procession of the Spirit and not on the return back to the Father. The mutual love theory characterizes the Holy Spirit as the mutual, eternal love between the Son and the Father. Because, according to Kilmartin, Augustine’s procession model did not fulfill the goal of liturgical theology in relation to human beings’ participation in the divine life, Coffey elaborated his bestowal model on the basis of Augustine’s mutual love theory. The Son, having been generated by the Father in

<sup>234</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 169.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>237</sup> Kilmartin, “The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit,” 251-252.

<sup>238</sup> See p. 106

love, receives the Spirit from the Father and then returns the Spirit back to the Father in love. In this way, Coffey explained the fact and manner of procession clearly and also affirmed the Holy Spirit as the mutual love between the Father and the Son. Since his theology of the Eucharist is about communication between persons, both divine and human, it was necessary for Kilmartin to find a way whereby there is not only communication from God's side, but also from the side of humanity. The Paraclete is not only sent to consecrate Jesus, but also through Him, to make holy all ordinary individuals of faith. He highlighted a correlation between the mutual "Spirit-giving" between the Father and the Son in the immanent Trinity and the "Spirit-working" in the economy of redemption which continues in the activity of the glorified Jesus.

### 2.5.2 THEOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

For Kilmartin, participation in the life of the Triune God is the ultimate goal of humanity. It is the purpose of God's self-communication in history as discussed in the previous section. It is also the cornerstone of Kilmartin's theological anthropology. In this section, we shall first elaborate on Kilmartin's view of human deification. Next, we shall discuss what Kilmartin says about sin and grace. In the final subsection, we shall go into the broader background and context that Kilmartin sketches on the sacramentality of the cosmos and history.

#### 2.5.2.1 Participation in the life of the Triune God through Christ

For Kilmartin, participation in the life of the God is the sole purpose of human beings. It is a topic that is based on Scripture and the traditional teachings of the Church.<sup>239</sup> He says, "the loftiest gift that God wants to give man, and to which all other blessings are subordinated and ordered, is personal communion with Himself; a gift that involves a sharing of the Divine life."<sup>240</sup> Kilmartin reasserts this concept clearly in his presentation of Jean Corbon's *The Wellspring of Worship*. "Everything that can be identified as a peculiarly Christian truth," Kilmartin writes, "is, in one way or another, a derivative of the one central truth that humanity was created in order to live forever in personal community with the Holy Trinity."<sup>241</sup> Perfection of human life is attained when human beings ultimately connect themselves to God personally: "Humankind is perfected through personal relatedness to the Trinity of persons.... Human beings are fulfilled through real relations to the Triune God."<sup>242</sup>

In his theological reflection, Kilmartin indicates the purpose of God's encounter of human beings and the depiction of Jesus as the Son who, in his humanity, realizes this encounter to the fullest. As already stated, God's purpose in encountering human beings is to unite them to Himself. It is vital for human beings to acknowledge Jesus as a channel because it is through the historical Jesus that an encounter with God

<sup>239</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Patristic Views of Sacramental Sanctification", in *Readings in Sacramental Theology*, ed. C. Sullivan (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), 145.

<sup>240</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 3.

<sup>241</sup> Kilmartin, *Foreword to Jean Corbon: The Wellspring of Worship*, 7-9.

<sup>242</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 143.



becomes a reality in the historical life of a human being.<sup>243</sup> "Full access to the mystery of God's Selfhood comes only through the incarnate Word of God. This signifies that what we know about God, as Triune God, comes from the insight communicated through the revelation of God in Jesus Christ."<sup>244</sup> It is in Christ, the ultimate Logos of God, that the individual's encounter with God becomes possible. For Kilmartin, Christ the Word is the meeting point. To meet Christ is to meet God Himself. He becomes the definite means of participation in the Trinity. Speaking of Jesus as the Word indicates that He reveals the truth and the revelation of God as He truly is. Consequently, Kilmartin writes, "God's nearness to mankind...reaches a decisive phase in Jesus' person, words and works," adding that, "In Jesus God reveals Himself in an unsurpassable way.... [T]herefore Jesus is simply the way to the Father."<sup>245</sup> The revelation of God in Jesus is not merely an encounter, but also an indication of God's reconciliation with humankind.

Kilmartin does not hesitate to take up the idea of Jesus as the mediator proposed by Gospel writers such as John, and the Fathers of the Church such as Augustine of Hippo, in whose work the title 'Jesus the Mediator' is dominant.<sup>246</sup> In general, the incarnation defines a movement from God to humankind and aims at a movement from humankind to God. The Son of God, as expressed by Irenaeus as early as in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, "has become what we are in order that we might receive a share in his perfection."<sup>247</sup> Similarly, Athanasius, in his works, expresses the view that human beings were originally created in order to participate in the divine Logos and that this destiny was fulfilled through the person of Jesus.<sup>248</sup> For Kilmartin, there can be "many mediations" but only "One Mediator" – Jesus Christ. "Jesus mediates through his human freedom, his words and signs," and his mediation is unique.<sup>249</sup> Also, Jesus is the perfect and unique mediator between God and humankind in the time of the Church.<sup>250</sup> We shall touch upon this particular point in the third chapter.<sup>251</sup>

### 2.5.2.2 Sin and Grace

Sanctification theology is at the heart of Kilmartin's work. He finds the perspectives of the Eastern Church more rewarding than those of Western theology, which focussed on sin and grace. In contrast, Eastern theology focussed on the elevation of human beings to God. Kilmartin follows Eastern theology and its emphasis on the supernatural deification.

Kilmartin's stress on the supernatural character of humankind's final goal is already clear in his very first book on the sacraments, when he writes that, "From all eternity, the Trinity had decreed the creation and supernatural destiny of man: a share in the

<sup>243</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacraments: Signs of Christ, Sanctifier and High Priest*, 3-5.

<sup>244</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 113.

<sup>245</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 64.

<sup>246</sup> For Augustine's work, cf. Allan D. Fitzgerald, ed. *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999).

<sup>247</sup> Quoted from Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Jesus- God and Man*, trans. Lewis L. Wilkins and Duane A. Priebe, Second ed. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1968), 40.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>249</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 237.

<sup>250</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Bread from Heaven," *Emmanuel* 82, (1976), 14.

<sup>251</sup> See p. 188

Trinitarian life.... While personal communion with the Trinity remained man's destiny, he was unable to attain it by his own powers. The initiative would have to come from God."<sup>252</sup> Given the actual and the essential limitations of humanity, it is never possible to attain this destiny through one's own power or strength; the grace of God is necessary. It means participation in the life of God is a divine gift and not something we can establish by ourselves. In other words, it is realized through grace. One's openness to God is the basis of participation: "God wishes to communicate but only communicates in the measure of man's openness to receive."<sup>253</sup> When God communicates, He communicates the totality of God's self. Hence, we can speak of God's self-communication. But the reception of it depends on the capacity of the receiver.<sup>254</sup>

Kilmartin does not really elaborate on sin, but he makes some remarks that suggest that he does not ignore the issue. He refers to the theological dimension of sin as "our condition of creaturely existence."<sup>255</sup> Commenting on Kilmartin's writings, Hall writes "...the entire life of the world, for Kilmartin, expresses the activity of the economic Trinity, communicating the divine life in particular human situations that are both sinful and holy."<sup>256</sup> Hall's assertion illustrates that Kilmartin considered the 'sinful' state of human nature a stumbling block for ultimate unification with God. Therefore, grace is a necessary means for sanctification. It is through the work of faith that sinful human beings encounter God through a "sinfully disposed Church."<sup>257</sup> Kilmartin also insists that the whole of creation is "deformed by sin."<sup>258</sup>

Kilmartin integrates the theme of grace in God's self-communication, i.e. God's self-communication is grace.<sup>259</sup> He terms grace – understood within a scholastic conceptual framework – as "created grace" that "qualifies human nature for union with" the Trinity.<sup>260</sup> "Uncreated grace" is a "complement" to created grace. Uncreated grace, which is "the self-communication of the Trinity in the Spirit," is the "essential basis for the whole of human being."<sup>261</sup>

### 2.5.2.3 Theology of Sacramental Disposition of Creation and History

Kilmartin attempts to integrate the essentials of God's self-communication or grace within the wider context of the whole of creation and its history. There are three main elements Kilmartin suggests: 1) Sacramentality of the whole of the natural cosmos (creation); 2) Sacramentality of the whole of human history; and 3) Sacramentality of special salvation history. God is active in creation and in human history in general, and, in a special way, in the history of Israel, Jesus, and the Church.

<sup>252</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacraments: Signs of Christ, Sanctifier and High Priest*, 3.

<sup>253</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 3.

<sup>254</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 137.

<sup>255</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 355.

<sup>256</sup> Hall, *We Have the Mind of Christ*, 160.

<sup>257</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 202.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>259</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 529.

<sup>260</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 130.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

Firstly, for Kilmartin, the involvement of God in history begins with creation. In other words, salvation history begins with creation. Sacramentality of the Cosmos is a concept Kilmartin took over from the patristic Fathers. According to this concept, God goes forth in creation. Creatures speak about God since they are expressions of his love.<sup>262</sup> Kilmartin uses a Trinitarian perspective in his theology of creation. When he speaks of God as the Creator, he means God the Father. The creation is a gift from the Father.<sup>263</sup> However, the created realities originate through the personal Word of God – the Son. Kilmartin also associates the Spirit of God as instrumental in the creation of the cosmos and it is still at work in creation.<sup>264</sup> All creation bears the mark of the Creator; therefore, it is good.<sup>265</sup> Kilmartin believes that the whole universe has been enriched by God's own activity, and also his presence since the very creation of the world. God is not just in heaven or only in human believers. He is in the world through everything He has created, and He can be encountered here. Even the smallest creatures manifest his presence. Because God's manifestation is to be found in the created world, the material world "not only serves to manifest God's love, but also can become the medium of communication of saving grace."<sup>266</sup>

Kilmartin's discussion on the sacramentality of the cosmos suggests two significant points. Firstly, everything in the world is potentially 'sacramental'. Secondly, everything created experiences an urge to respond to God's call. Creatures' urge to respond to God's call is made possible by human beings. Among everything created, human beings are the crown of creation.<sup>267</sup> Human beings have been enriched to give thanks to God for the gift of creation on behalf of the whole of created reality.<sup>268</sup> Since he emphasises the key role of human response, Kilmartin's view of the sacramentality of creation can be termed as 'anthropocentric'.

One may ask how the Divine God, who is holy, can communicate with human beings, who are profane? Contact with the Holy brings death, according to Exodus 19:12. Kilmartin argues that the "holy and profane are not separated ... because God's revelation takes place in the human situation of obedience and love." Because God's grace is active in sacraments, it takes up "human boundary situations and makes them, through the word of God, situations of salvation, time of grace and sign of God's grace for mankind." In other words, sacramental celebrations transform the believers.<sup>269</sup> For Kilmartin, the Christian rites of the sacraments "were valued as particular concentrations of the sacramental nature of all creation. They were interpreted as the highest manifestations of God's presence in the whole of the cosmos."<sup>270</sup>

Kilmartin, however, does not neglect the first point: the potential sacramentality of creation. He thinks that this was the view of the Church Fathers and medieval scholastic theologians but that this ancient approach was abandoned in the (post-) Reformation era. Vatican II followed this up and described the sacraments as the "acts

<sup>262</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 56 & 143.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, 58-59.

<sup>265</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 157-158.

<sup>266</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 205-206.

<sup>267</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 157-158.

<sup>268</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 56-57.

<sup>269</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 76-77.

<sup>270</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 158.

of the Church.”<sup>271</sup> Kilmartin feared that this modern viewpoint could only pose major problems.<sup>272</sup> He writes that in order to “maintain an integrated view of the real world,” one should hold “a sacramental understanding of all reality,” i.e. that the entire creation in itself is intrinsically sacramental.”<sup>273</sup> For Kilmartin, wonder at the natural world must be at the heart of a cosmic sacramentality. However, although Kilmartin stresses the sacramentality of the cosmos, he does not elaborate this concept in great detail.<sup>274</sup>

Secondly, because of the key role humans play within the sacramentality of the whole of creation or the cosmos, including both human and non-human creatures, Kilmartin asserts God’s presence in the whole history of humankind. By sacramentality of the history of humankind, he seems to exclude all of non-human creation. Human being is a “being of history” and it is through history that the existence of human beings is mediated. God’s saving presence, Kilmartin suggests, is to be found in human situations, in their social, religious contexts.<sup>275</sup> In this vein, even though cultures, cults, forms of ritual behaviour, myths, languages, and symbolic actions differ in a human world, they are the means by which a human community is defined and in which the community evolves and experiences God. Religious worship aims at coming in contact with God. It “links the insecure constructs of the realities of the earthly society to an external and higher reality, the divine order.”<sup>276</sup> Kilmartin insists that “God works in and through history to communicate his saving grace, and this means in and through human communication in the individual and social spheres.”<sup>277</sup> Kilmartin admits that it is difficult to grasp God’s activity in history. Nevertheless, he propounds the view that God has bound Himself to the human world in a very intimate way. God is “present and active in the concrete process of the ordinary life events of individual and society.”<sup>278</sup>

Thirdly, Kilmartin demonstrates the relation between God’s involvement in the whole of human history and the special history of salvation, which is realized in the history of Israel and the Christ-event. From the outset, Kilmartin portrays the visibility of God’s presence, which, after first having enveloped in anonymity, became clearer in the special revelation made to Israel and reached its summit in the sacramental apparition of the Son of God made human. It means that the anonymous presence of God (in history) becomes a personal reality in the special revelation given to Israel and reaches its culmination in the incarnation of Christ. Although salvation history

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<sup>271</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 209.

<sup>272</sup> Kilmartin, “Theology of the Sacraments,” 159. He states here, “the attempt to establish the institution of sacraments by a positive divine decree, without reference to the sacramental nature of all reality, does not correspond to the teaching of the early and high Scholastics, although they also held for the institution of sacraments by Christ. It is indicative of a lack of ability to maintain an integrated view of the real world. In a word, with the loss of sacramental understanding of all reality, the doctrine of analogy is deprived of its grounds.”

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, 158-159.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 123-175. Cf. Linda Gibler, *From the Beginning to Baptism: Scientific and Sacred Stories of Water, Oil and Fire* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2010), xix. Also cf. Kenan B. Osborne *Christian Sacraments in a Postmodern World: A Theology for the Third Millennium* (New York: Paulist Press, 1999), cf. footnote 28ff in the same book.

<sup>275</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 22-23.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

begins with creation.<sup>279</sup> “the mystery of salvation is effected in a special way through the incarnation, life, death and glorification of Jesus Christ.”<sup>280</sup> The historical events of Christ’s life are “part of the natural history of mankind” and they have “profound meaning on the level of salvation history.”<sup>281</sup> Kilmartin insists that salvation history was extended through God’s covenantal relationship with all human beings (through Israel) and culminated in the saving work of Jesus. The Old Testament “contains the record of God’s activity in preparing Israel” for the fulfilment of his promise through covenantal relationships.<sup>282</sup> In other words, both the OT and NT are about the experience of God speaking and acting in their midst.<sup>283</sup> God’s covenantal relationships with biblical figures, such as in the Abrahamic covenant, are to be understood within the parameters of what Kilmartin refers to as the “special history of salvation.”<sup>284</sup>

Kilmartin elucidates that salvation history which culminated in Christ Jesus continues today in the activities of the Church. As the NT claims, the story of redemption reaches its perfection in the new covenant implemented through Christ Jesus. It encompasses the Risen Lord’s promise to form the Church, the new people of God by sending the Holy Spirit, who becomes the means of encounter with the Triune God. These new people are called to grow into the fullness of Christ. As we saw above, for Kilmartin, human participation in the life of God is at the heart of his theology. He emphasises that the purpose and import of Trinitarian theology is to move us towards the Triune God so as to share in his life. It is in the divine plan of God that his action be communicated through that of the Church.<sup>285</sup> The self-communication of God and the growth of human beings in God’s likeness are experienced in and through the sacraments and, in a special way, in the liturgical services of the Eucharist, making it possible for believers to share this experience.<sup>286</sup> That said, Kilmartin further specifies that salvation history will be ultimately completed at the second coming of Christ.<sup>287</sup>

### 2.5.2.4 Conclusion

Having discussed Kilmartin’s view of theological anthropology, we can conclude by saying that, for Kilmartin, participation in the divine life of God is the ultimate goal of humanity, which is God’s gift to it. Although human beings are the crown of creation, because of both their limited, created nature and their corrupted, sinful human state, they cannot achieve participation in the life of God by their own powers. The initiative, therefore, comes from God. God (immanent Trinity) who reveals Himself in his creation, in human history (economic Trinity) urges human beings to respond to his call. The redemption story which began with creation culminates in the life of Jesus and continues in the Church.

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<sup>279</sup> Ibid., 205.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid., 202 & 53.

<sup>281</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 134.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., 1 & 7.

<sup>283</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 30.

<sup>284</sup> R. Gabriel Pivarnik, *Toward a Trinitarian Theology of Liturgical Participation* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2013), 199.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>286</sup> Kilmartin, “A Modern Approach to the Word of God,” 70.

<sup>287</sup> Kilmartin, “Theology of the Sacraments,” 153.

### 2.5.3 ECCLESIOLOGY: THE CHURCH AS SACRAMENT

Ecclesiology is one of the topics that is dominant in the works of Kilmartin. He develops his view on the Church within the framework of his Trinitarian theology. In that way, he thinks he can open the possibility to acknowledge the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy, and also argue for an ecclesiology that articulates the reality of the relationship between churches. Kilmartin believes in an ecclesiology that is more ecumenical in its nature and function. We have already explored his ecumenical interests earlier in this chapter.<sup>288</sup> Kilmartin's explanation of ecclesiology focuses on three key topics: Church as sacrament, priesthood, and liturgy, including the sacramental celebrations. This section focuses on Church as sacrament. Priesthood and liturgy, with the sacramental celebrations, will be discussed in sections 2.5.4 and 2.5.5

#### 2.5.3.1 Rahner and Schillebeeckx on Christ and the Church as Sacrament

Kilmartin's theological view of the Church and the sacraments have profoundly been influenced by fundamental changes that took place in sacramental theology since the 1950s and pursue the trajectory set out by theologians such as Rahner and Schillebeeckx. Using Schillebeeckx and Rahner, Kilmartin presents a wider and more fundamental context of sacramental theology in Christology and ecclesiology: Jesus and the Church as sacraments. Rahner and Schillebeeckx opted for Church and Christ as the foundational and primordial sacrament. In contrast, Otto Semmelroth (1912–1979) viewed the Church as the *Ursakrament* (primordial sacrament). However, after Vatican II Semmelroth adapts his formulation and then speaks of the Church no longer as *Ursakrament* but as *Wurzelsakrament* (root sacrament) giving priority to Christ as the *Ursakrament*.

Since sacraments put us in communication with God, Kilmartin calls the God-man Jesus Christ the "primordial sacrament" of encounter with the Divine Being, following Schillebeeckx's suggestion.<sup>289</sup> In God's communication with human beings, Christ Jesus, his Son, comes first. Because He is the incarnate Son of God, the humanity of God, the human face of God, He is able to make visible God's love. Schillebeeckx wrote, "even in his humanity Christ is the Son of God. The second person of the Most Holy Trinity is personally man; and this man is personally God. Therefore, Christ is God in a human way, and [human] in a divine way."<sup>290</sup> The arguments in support of his thinking are based on the very words of Jesus, who said, "Whoever has seen me has seen the Father" (John 14:9; and 1:18). The personal encounter with God is revealed by Jesus. For Schillebeeckx, Jesus is the sacrament from which all the other sacraments originate. The human response of Jesus was so complete that God embraced his humanity. Schillebeeckx "saw the humanity of Jesus Christ as the primordial sacrament, since it was in his humanity that there occurs the twofold movement consisting of the inbreaking of grace 'from above' and the cultus of love of God 'from below'."<sup>291</sup>

<sup>288</sup> See p. 51.

<sup>289</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 528-529.

<sup>290</sup> Schillebeeckx, *Christ, the Sacrament of the Encounter with God*, 13-14.

<sup>291</sup> Herbert Vorgrimler, *Sacramental Theology* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 32.

This said, Schillebeeckx also calls the Church “sacramental” because it continues to extend the body of Jesus in time: “...this [glorious] body is prolonged in a form which is visible on earth – in the sacramental Church.”<sup>292</sup> Kilmartin agrees with Schillebeeckx that the Church functions within the wider context of the sacramentality of Christ: “the earthly Church is essentially a kind of broadening of the mystery of Christ within the history of humanity.”<sup>293</sup> Kilmartin says that Schillebeeckx’s “basic theological explanation for the existence of seven sacraments is grounded on the nature of the Church as historical manifestation of Christ’s saving work.”<sup>294</sup> Humanity is able to make contact with God through the body of the Church, of which Christ is the head. Through the sacramental celebrations of the Church, the Christian is drawn into personal communion with Christ in his human actions, which reveal God’s presence.

Earlier, Rahner, who, whilst calling the Church the “fundamental sacrament,” also called the historical person of Jesus the “primal sacrament” or “*primordial* sacrament.”<sup>295</sup> This implies a perpetual interconnectedness between Jesus and the Church. It is Jesus who gives the Church its sacramental character, which initiates the encounter with God. Rahner suggests that in the self-communication of God to humanity, Jesus is the humanness of God, his very face, and even his own body, i.e. the salvific and efficacious love of God made visible in the very person of Jesus.<sup>296</sup>

Along similar lines, Kilmartin finds his theology of the sacraments on Christ and the Church. While he calls Christ the primordial sacrament or a “prototype of sacrament,” he calls the Church a “comprehensive sacrament,”<sup>297</sup> or “root sacrament.”<sup>298</sup> It is clear that Kilmartin follows Rahner (and Schillebeeckx, and also Semmelroth) on these views.<sup>299</sup> Kilmartin argues that “whoever accepts the understanding of Christ as the primordial sacrament, and the Church as a kind of root sacrament from which spring various sacramental acts, will not find it necessary to search for a word of the historical Jesus to secure the institution of all sacraments.”<sup>300</sup>

### 2.5.3.2 The Church as Sacrament

Kilmartin develops his view on the Church as sacrament in a Trinitarian context. For him, the Church is not only sacrament of Christ, but also of the Spirit.

The Church, for Kilmartin, is first of all a visible means of participation in the Trinitarian life. The Church is the medium through which communication with God is

<sup>292</sup> Schillebeeckx, *Christ, the Sacrament of the Encounter with God*, 75.

<sup>293</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 105.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, 282, cf. note number 16 in the same book.

<sup>295</sup> Like Semmelroth, Rahner also changed his vocabulary. In earlier works he referred to the Church as the “Ursakrament”, but later changed it into “Grundsakrament” (basic or foundational sacrament). For the latter usage, cf. Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith*, 411.

<sup>296</sup> Karl Rahner, *Theological Investigations*, trans. K.Smyth, vol. IV (London: Darton: Longman and Todd, 1966), 237.

<sup>297</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 105.

<sup>298</sup> Kilmartin, “Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church,” 532.

<sup>299</sup> Kilmartin, “A Modern Approach to the Word of God,” 78.

<sup>300</sup> Kilmartin, “Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church,” 533-534.

established because it is the body of the glorified Jesus. Kilmartin sees God as encountered in and through Jesus in the word and sacraments of the Church. It is in the Church that one meets the glorified body of Christ, who continues to operate through the visible means of the Church. Kilmartin writes, "A corporeal encounter with the glorified Christ, and in Him with the Trinity, remains possible in the sacramental Church which is the earthly, visible, redemptive organ of the living, invisible *Kyrios* (the Lord). In the word and sacraments of the Church, we encounter the salvific activity of the *Kyrios* in a visible form, in a corporeal way."<sup>301</sup> The mystery of the divine-human encounter is complete in the person of Jesus Christ in the Church. It is the Church that makes it possible for human beings to encounter Jesus, and through Him, God the Father.<sup>302</sup>

The Church is the place of two encounters: 1) a means for God to encounter humans; and 2) a means for humans to encounter God. Encountering God comes through an encounter of believers among themselves since, together, they form Christ's body. However, Kilmartin says that the believers are in Christ's body "in the Spirit." It is through the Church that Christ communicates Himself.<sup>303</sup> But, in accordance with his Spirit Christology, Kilmartin also sees the Spirit as constitutive for the sacramental character of the Church.<sup>304</sup> We shall first deal with the Church as sacrament of Christ and next as sacrament of the Spirit.

### 2.5.3.3 The Church as the Sacrament of Christ

Earlier in our discussion we saw how Schillebeeckx and Rahner viewed the Church as a sacrament. Kilmartin is keen to suggest that the Church is also a visible sacrament of Christ, despite the fact that authors such as Michael Schmaus (1897–1993) claim that the expression of the Church as a sacrament "does not occur in so many words anywhere in Scripture and is found only very rarely in the Fathers."<sup>305</sup> Kilmartin was bold enough to re-examine this concept as he became more familiar with the documents of the Second Vatican Council, which occasionally utilized this idea, e.g., in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, which states, "it was from the side of Christ as he slept the sleep of death upon the cross that there came forth the wonderful sacrament of the whole Church."<sup>306</sup> In *Lumen Gentium*, the Church is once again called the "sacramentum of Christ."<sup>307</sup> This document further states that the Church is "a kind of sacrament or sign of intimate union with God, and of the unity of all humankind."<sup>308</sup>

<sup>301</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacraments: Signs of Christ, Sanctifier and High Priest*, 6.

<sup>302</sup> Kilmartin, "The Achievement of Sacrosanctum Concilium," 566. Kilmartin, "Patristic Views of Sacramental Sanctification", 146.

<sup>303</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 68-69.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-71.

<sup>305</sup> Michael Schmaus, *Dogma: The Church as Sacrament*, vol. 5 (United States of America: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 1972), 5.

<sup>306</sup> Vatican II, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, no. 5.

<sup>307</sup> Vatican Council II, Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 63; AAS 57 (1965), no. 9 & 48.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1. Together with what has been proposed already by Kilmartin, one should not also forget another important document entitled *Mystici Corporis*. This encyclical by Pope Pius XII is another living example of this concept, although it does not explicitly state the Church as the sacrament of Christ. However, elements of this concept are found throughout the encyclical. Cf. Pope Pius XII,



As a result of the Council Fathers' assertions, a number of other post-conciliar publications concerning the sacraments continued to refer to Christ and the ecclesial body as "sacraments." These concepts are regarded as the underlying principle of celebrations of both the liturgy and the sacraments.<sup>309</sup>

According to Kilmartin, calling the Church "the sacrament of the man Jesus Christ as Sanctifier and as Holy One,"<sup>310</sup> means that the Church provides the means for "an encounter between God and an individual [and] of human persons among themselves simultaneously."<sup>311</sup> When Kilmartin says the Church is a sacrament of Christ, he is suggesting that just as the sacraments reveal the invisible God in visible symbolic actions, so also the Church as a whole reveals the nature and presence of God in and through the person of Jesus, since it continues to operate as his glorious body. Consequently, Christ is made visible in the visible Church. Through the Church we touch Jesus and in Jesus we touch God.<sup>312</sup> Although the sacramentality comes *from* Jesus Himself, the medium of that sacramentality comes *through* the Church, working in his Spirit. Therefore, the Church is a "comprehensive sacrament of salvation."<sup>313</sup> It is the place where salvation is given to the human community in a concrete and visible way.<sup>314</sup>

Although Kilmartin takes what was proposed by the Vatican documents as his point of departure, he nevertheless remains concerned about what was essentially missing from them, making great efforts to add a pneumatological dimension to the theological view on the Church.<sup>315</sup>

### 2.5.3.4 The Church as the Sacrament of the Spirit

Kilmartin's work stresses the life of the Spirit in the Church.<sup>316</sup> He seems to have taken this idea from Walter Kasper<sup>317</sup> and likely also Robert Hotz.<sup>318</sup> Kilmartin calls the Spirit the "soul" of the Church.<sup>319</sup> The mystery of Jesus' life, he says, "grounds the Church and its sacramental activity."<sup>320</sup> Does that mean that he views the Church as the continuation of the glorified Christ? The idea of the Church as the extension of the *person* of Christ could easily be misunderstood. Kilmartin avoids such inherent

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Mystici Corporis Christi. Encyclical Letter on the Mystical Body of Christ (29 June 1943), AAS 35 (1943), 193–248.

<sup>309</sup> Kevin W. Irwin, "A Sacramental World: Sacramentality as the Primary Language for Sacraments," *Worship* 76, no. 3 May (2002), 200.

<sup>310</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 68.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>312</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 376.

<sup>313</sup> Kilmartin, "Ecclesiastical Office, Power and Spirit," 102.

<sup>314</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 533.

<sup>315</sup> Pivarnik, *Toward a Trinitarian Theology of Liturgical Participation*, 117.

<sup>316</sup> Kilmartin, "Ecclesiastical Office, Power and Spirit," 102.

<sup>317</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 223. Also cf. Peter C. Sanders, "Pneumatology in the Sacramental Theologies of Geoffrey Wainwright, Jean Corbon and Edward Kilmartin," *Worship* 68, no. 4 (1994), 350.

<sup>318</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Sakramente-Im Wechselspiel zwischen Ost und West. Ökumenische Theologie, by Robert Hotz, Zürich 1979," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 17, no. 3 (1980), 502–503.

<sup>319</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 105.

<sup>320</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 64.

complications by involving the role of the Holy Spirit. The Church is a continuation of the unction of Christ by the Spirit and, therefore, without the Spirit the Church would be misunderstood as *alter Christus*. The Spirit works as the bond between Christ and the Church.

Since the role of the Holy Spirit is stressed, the Church appears as being "endowed with divine powers which not only render it capable of spiritual worship in its own right but of communicating supernatural graces through a strictly supernatural quality which belongs inalienably to it."<sup>321</sup> Paul was able to call the Church by the name "Christ" only because he saw the Risen Lord and the believers united in the Spirit. Kilmartin also reminds us that "the Word of God spoken in the Church is the word of Christ *and* the word of the Church."<sup>322</sup> In this way, he points out the inseparable union between the two. "Both the apostles and the Spirit are sent conjointly to gather the world into the Kingdom."<sup>323</sup> The Church is the fruit of Christ's work. Because the Church manifests the presence of the Spirit of Christ, it can be called the "Sacrament of the Holy Spirit."<sup>324</sup>

It is the Spirit that first brings unity between Christ and the Church. If the pneumatological dimension is narrowed, then the sacramental reality of the unity between Christ and the Church becomes unclear. Kilmartin endeavours to establish theologically this relationship, particularly in view of his Trinitarian formulation of sacrifice. He is aware that if the relation between Christ and Church is blocked, then the encounter between God and humanity through the Church becomes impossible. Therefore, he sees establishing this link between Christ and the Church through the Spirit as vitally important. Through the Spirit, Christ unites Himself to the Church, and so to every individual in Him. If the Church is to be called the sacrament of Christ, it can be also called the sacrament of the Spirit because "the Spirit provides the pneumatological link" of unity between Christ and the Church.<sup>325</sup>

In an attempt to defend his idea of the Church as the sacrament of the Spirit, Kilmartin carefully highlights how the Second Vatican Council opened up the vital role of the Holy Spirit in the Church. Kilmartin refers to *Lumen Gentium* ("LG"), which recalls those events following Jesus' glorification after death, how He sent his Spirit directly onto his apostles and followers and, as a result, created his own body, the Church, as the universal sacrament of redemption of the whole of humanity.<sup>326</sup> In this text, Kilmartin finds a confirmation of his affirmation that "the Holy Spirit is a constitutive factor of the sacramentality of the Church."<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>321</sup> Ibid., 68.

<sup>322</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 240.

<sup>323</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 71.

<sup>324</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 223.

<sup>325</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 542.

<sup>326</sup> Vatican II, "Lumen Gentium", no. 34. For a better explanation of this point, cf. also Christopher Cardinal Schönborn, "The Kingdom of God and the Heavenly-Earthly Church," *Letter & Spirit* 2, no. (2006), 217-234. It can be argued that Kilmartin holds on to the document's position, since it specifies the word "sacrament" so as to equip us with a better and a new comprehension of the position of Church and its role in the story of redemption. In engaging such terminologies, the document describes first and foremost the flow of grace that the ecclesia brings about on every member of its body. Cf. Georges Dejaifve, "The Church the Sacrament of the World," *The Way* 6, no. 4 (1966), 267.

<sup>327</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 222.

Kilmartin then directs us to another document, *Gaudium et Spes*, which speaks of the effective symbolic meanings associated with the Church's responsibility to be the instrument of Christ to the world.<sup>328</sup> Summarizing his views on this document, Kilmartin highlights that the Church, as the sacrament of Christ, has the power "to manifest Christ's salvation to the world. This power is originally attributed to the Spirit, who keeps the Church as a 'faithful Spouse of Christ' and so maintains the sign of Christ on the face of the Church. By virtue of the Spirit energizing the Church, the nature of the Church as sacrament is fully realized."<sup>329</sup> Thus, for Kilmartin, even as the Church is the sacrament of Christ, it is the sacrament also of the Spirit because the underlying power within the Church's sacramentality in Christ is from the Spirit. Therefore, for Kilmartin, mediation between Christ and the Church comes only through the Spirit.

### 2.5.3.5 The Christ-ward Spirit in the Church

By asserting the role of the Spirit within the Church, Kilmartin acknowledges the mediation of the Spirit, which revives the redemptive work of Christ in the Church and his sacraments. The proper mission of the Holy Spirit, he believes, "derives from Christ and has a completely Christ-ward reference."<sup>330</sup> This is because "Christ is the *content* of the Gift of the Holy Spirit."<sup>331</sup> It is the very "Spirit of Christ whom he shares with us."<sup>332</sup>

Kilmartin asserts that whilst the Church is the sacrament of the Spirit, the Spirit receives its own mission from the glorified Christ and, therefore, the Spirit always remains "Christ-ward." As a result, the Spirit, in and through the Church, constantly bears witness to the Son of God, not towards its own self. According to Kilmartin, the Church, by using its authority which emerges from the Spirit, authenticates Christ, who is its head. Consequently, from this point of view, the Church is "more properly called the sacrament of Christ in the Spirit. In and through the Church it is Christ that is encountered, while the Spirit works in a hidden way."<sup>333</sup> For Kilmartin, this key formulation underpins the unity of the Church.

Kilmartin intertwines the Spirit and Christ in the Church. This intertwining is expressed in the joint operations of the Son and the Spirit. Taking his lead from *LG* he

<sup>328</sup> Vatican Council II, *Gaudium et Spes*, AAS 58 (1966), 43.

<sup>329</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 222. Also cf. Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 70-71.

<sup>330</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 71.

<sup>331</sup> Coffey, "A Proper Mission of the Holy Spirit," 228.

<sup>332</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 435. Does this mean that the Holy Spirit is the 'Mediator' between Christ and the believers? Taking the idea of 'mediated immediacy' from Heribert Mühlen, Kilmartin says that the unity between the Christ and the believers is something very close and personal. The reason is because it is being mediated exclusively by the one and the same Spirit. As a result, the Spirit is not merely the 'mediator' between Jesus and the individual believers, but rather it is the mediation of Christ the Mediator. Also cf. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 357. A similar concept is already found in the writings of Walter Kasper who says, that the "Spirit is, therefore, in every respect the mediation, in freedom, of love, unity and distinction." It is very likely that Kilmartin has adopted this idea from Kasper himself. Cf. Walter Kasper, *Jesus the Christ* (New York: Paulist, 1976), 268.

<sup>333</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 223.

says, "just as the assumed humanity of Jesus of Nazareth served as organ of the Word, so the social structures of the Church serve the Spirit of Christ."<sup>334</sup> This means that the Logos is the personal source of all human activity of Jesus. If that is the case then, analogously, the Church can be said to be the instrument of the Spirit whom Christ possesses in fullness and whom He shares with his believers in the entire Church. In other words, the Church is an instrument of the Spirit of the Logos. It is not autonomous but permanently dependent on the Spirit of Christ. This runs against the juridical ecclesiology that had been dominant after the Council of Trent. According to this ecclesiology, the Church is a perfect society that is "equipped by divine right" to achieve its supernatural goals. The weakness of this theology was partially overcome by the encyclical letter, *Mystici corporis*, issued by Pope Pius XII in 1943. However, Kilmartin finds that the Pope's views were still leaning to the older juridical model. The ecclesiology suggested by the Vatican II through its document *LG*, which came out as a partial correction to Pope Pius XII's views, still lacks clarity and has a "Christomonistic tendency" ("Christ only").<sup>335</sup>

The view that the Church depends on the Spirit of Christ also implies a revaluation of the active participation of the faithful. For Kilmartin, all the baptised are ontologically in the Spirit and become instruments of the Spirit. In fact, it is they who make known the activities of the Spirit. In this way, Kilmartin sees that the Spirit of Christ also serves as the living witness to build up his own body. The Church not only serves as an instrument of the Spirit of Jesus, but also becomes shaped by the very Spirit of Christ. And thus "the Spirit configures the believer to Christ."<sup>336</sup> The Church acts on behalf of and through the Spirit and the Spirit in turn moulds the Church. So, "the social structure of the Church is fashioned ultimately by the Spirit who works through it." Every believer in Christ is "ontically united to the Spirit and serves as instruments of the Spirit."<sup>337</sup>

### 2.5.3.6 Trinitarian Communion Ecclesiology

In analysing the documents of Vatican II, Kilmartin discerns in the texts three ecclesiological models: a pre-conciliar juridical ecclesiology, a more dominant Christomonistic communion model, and an inchoate Trinitarian ecclesiology. He argues that all three are "intertwined without being integrated and synthesized."<sup>338</sup> Kilmartin argues that the second one should be complemented with a Trinitarian, in particular a pneumatological, approach.

He agrees that Vatican II has restored the patristic view of the Church as a community of baptized people rather than reserving itself as a juridical entity. He also values the

<sup>334</sup> Ibid., 199. The original idea comes from *Lumen Gentium* 8, which states, "As the assumed nature inseparably united to Him, serves the divine Word as a living organ of salvation, so, in a similar way, does the visible social structure of the Church serve the Spirit of Christ, who vivifies it, in the building up of the body."

<sup>335</sup> Ibid., 226. Also cf., Kilmartin, "Culture and the Praying Church", esp. Ch. 3, 33-46.

<sup>336</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 71-72.

<sup>337</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Eucharist: Nourishment for Communion", in *Populus Dei II: Ecclesia. Studi in onore del Card. Alfredo Ottaviani*, ed. Joseph D'Ercole (Rome: Communio 11, 1967), 1043-1085. Also cf. Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 225.

<sup>338</sup> Kilmartin, "Lay Participation in the Apostolate of the Hierarchy," 349.

Council's view of the universal Church as a family of churches which is in relationship and in communion.<sup>339</sup> However, he criticizes Vatican II for its teaching on ecclesiology that is too often Christomonistic with very little attention for the Spirit.<sup>340</sup> Hence, he sees an alternative in a Trinitarian ecclesiology which incorporates also the strong points of a communion ecclesiology. Such a Trinitarian communion ecclesiology contains three important elements: 1) communion of the Trinity in which we are to participate; 2) communion of the local Church in the universal Church; and 3) communion of laity and ordained ministry hierarchy

In the preceding section, we have already dealt with Kilmartin's views on the importance of our participation in the Trinitarian life of God.<sup>341</sup> God the Father, who is the primordial source of the mission of the Son and the Spirit, wishes that humanity is gathered into one in Him through the Son and the Spirit. The communion of the three divine persons, Kilmartin thinks, fashions the unity of the people of God.<sup>342</sup> Just as in the Trinity, unity and multiplicity come together in the dynamic union of divine life, so also every individual member of the Church, in the power of the Spirit, is "enabled to live in communion with Christ and with one another."<sup>343</sup> Personal conviction of faith is necessary to mediate this unity. In this unity, the Spirit has a special role. This is the ultimate reason for Kilmartin's concept of the Church as the Sacrament of the Spirit. Every member in the Church is bound to Christ and to one another through the Spirit. The Spirit is the binding force between Christ and the Church. He is conveyed to the believer through the sacraments, such as baptism, which are the gateways for believers to be attached to the humanity and Spirit of Christ.

The Trinitarian communion ecclesiology as proposed by Kilmartin also includes the communion of the local Church and the universal Church. He thinks that the view on the relation between local and universal Church changed during the Middle Ages, due to a sharper distinction between the active role of the priest and the passive role of the people in the Eucharistic celebration. During the first millennium, when the local congregation was still actively involved in the celebration, "the idea that the local represents the universal Church in its Eucharistic celebration was clearly recognized."<sup>344</sup> But as the priest became seen as acting in the name of Christ over against the community in the Eucharist, and hence also representing "the hierarchical, institutional church," the relation changed and the local Church was considered as involved in the Eucharist of the universal Church. Kilmartin thinks that Vatican II makes an effort to undo this change. In his view, the local Church is a "microcosm" of the whole Church, which is constantly in communion with other Churches.<sup>345</sup> The local Church is the local diocese, which works as a single unit with shared responsibility. By the merits of their ordination, the bishops of these local Churches are empowered to take responsibility and with the power of the Holy Spirit make

<sup>339</sup> Kilmartin, "Culture and the Praying Church", esp. Ch. 3, 33-46. Also cf. Kilmartin, "Lay Participation in the Apostolate of the Hierarchy," 366.

<sup>340</sup> Kilmartin, "Lay Participation in the Apostolate of the Hierarchy," 354.

<sup>341</sup> See p. 95.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid., 366.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

<sup>344</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 114-115.

<sup>345</sup> Kilmartin, "Culture and the Praying Church", 30. Also cf. Edward J. Kilmartin, "Ecclesiological Implications of Classical Eucharistic Prayers," in *Wort und Wahrheit: Review for Religion and Culture* (Vienna-Leinz: 1988), 95.

decisions that suit the local community. However, these “bishops are capable of a collegial act.... A collegial act of this kind ... is fully separated from the wills of the individual members and constitutes an instance of mediation between the Bishop of Rome and diocesan bishops.”<sup>346</sup>

The local Church is best expressed in the Eucharist and is interdependent in relation to other local Churches. It is the same Spirit that is active in all these Churches.<sup>347</sup> Although the local Church is called to realize itself more profoundly in the Eucharist, this realization must be measured by its outreaching to other local Churches. The “Catholicity” of each local Church becomes visible in its outreach to other Churches.<sup>348</sup> That said, Kilmartin appears to be critical of the term ‘local Church’ since all realizations of the Church are local here and he doubts if this is a helpful term. In contrast to ‘local Church’, the alternative technical term he brings into usage is “individual Church.” Unfortunately, in the entire corpus of his work, it is only in the book *Culture and Praying Church* that his usage of the term ‘individual Church’ is more explicit. Whereas the individual Church contains everything that the universal Church has, what makes this term so special is that it conveys best “the notion of a certain independence which is constitutive of the existence of the Church in history.”<sup>349</sup>

Finally, Kilmartin examines the question of communion ecclesiology also in light of the roles the laity has in relation to the hierarchy. According to *LG* 8, the hierarchically-structured “society” of the visible Church and the Mystical Body of Christ constitute “one complex reality.” A general view on *LG* 8 and the term ‘complex reality’ that is used appears to suggest a hierarchical–congregational debate, or in Kilmartin’s own terms, the “governed and the governors” debate.<sup>350</sup> On the one hand, Vatican II emphasises the role of ordained ministry in teaching and governing; however, on the other hand, it does not rule out the possibility of the laity’s participation in some ecclesiastical offices. Although Kilmartin thinks that also “juridical” and “christomonistic communion” models leave some room for laity’s participation in ecclesiastical offices, in his view, only a Trinitarian communion ecclesiology offers a solid theological basis for acknowledging “the spiritual capacity of the laity, based on their charisms,” to exercise pastoral leadership. The source of their power to participate in the pastoral leadership originates from the sacrament of baptism. Using pastoral prudence, the local bishop has the authority to award any gifted person the exercise of this power in his/her pastoral ministry.<sup>351</sup>

Recognizing the Church as one family fastened by the Spirit, Kilmartin relates the social structure of the Church to its sacramentality or visibility in order to make clear the mission of the Spirit-filled community. In this family, the Spirit is to be seen as the binding person. Communion theology, Kilmartin thinks, will be allowed to flourish as long as the role of the Holy Spirit is not neglected. Kilmartin puts forward the view that if communion ecclesiology can be intimately related to a Trinitarian

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<sup>346</sup> Kilmartin, “Lay Participation in the Apostolate of the Hierarchy,” 367.

<sup>347</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *Toward Reunion: The Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 22.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*, viii.

<sup>350</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 225.

<sup>351</sup> Kilmartin, “Lay Participation in the Apostolate of the Hierarchy,” 347-370.

ecclesiology then it allows us to determine more accurately the role of the Holy Spirit in the lives of every individual believer in the social structure.<sup>352</sup>

Recognizing the patristic Trinitarian ecclesiology of communion, according to which both Christ and the Spirit are actively present and are at work among every believer in the Church, Kilmartin views the Church as both hierarchical and congregational. The Spirit gives to every believer the gifts of wisdom and grace (charisms) to use for the growth of the Church.<sup>353</sup> For Kilmartin, the Church is "not a substantial being." Rather, it comes about through the unity of activities of the individual believers.<sup>354</sup> According to this idea, each member of the Church – and not only the clergy – is entrusted with a function: he or she is to do his or her part, bringing about unity and spiritual growth of the Church by means of their labour and through their own particular skills and gifts. This function of the believer "originates in the charge given by Christ to the Church to carry on his ministry."<sup>355</sup> In this function, the Holy Spirit is at the centre of every believer's personal activity, not in the believer as an isolated individual but as a member of the whole Body of Christ. The activities of the Spirit, according to Kilmartin, become visible in the efforts of the believers.<sup>356</sup>

As we shall see later, in rituals as well in sacramental gatherings, the Church recollects the Christ-event.<sup>357</sup> In doing so, the Church attempts to sacramentally recall its mysteries continually, so that they can be incorporated into the spiritual lives of the believers, who in return strive to live by them. Ultimately, the Holy Spirit is to be considered the source of any actions associated with the religious, moral beliefs, or convictions of the faithful. In other words, the function of Spirit-filled community is not to be restricted merely to spiritual celebrations, but extends outwards in moral attitude and service, for "in Christianity we cannot separate faith and love, for the kind of knowing involved in this faith is that which functions in a relationship of friendship and love."<sup>358</sup>

### 2.5.3.7 Conclusion

Kilmartin affirms that it is through the Church that God is encountered. The Church is an instrumental cause of the encounter. Basing himself on the works of Rahner and Schillebeeckx, Kilmartin calls Jesus the primordial sacrament and the Church the comprehensive or root sacrament. He also highlights the special role of the Spirit in the Church. It is through the power of the Spirit that the personal encounter between God and human beings becomes a reality. By inserting the person of the Spirit, Kilmartin overcomes the misunderstanding of the Church as being called another Christ. The Spirit brings the unity between Christ and the Church. In this way,

<sup>352</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 226-228.

<sup>353</sup> Kilmartin, "Culture and the Praying Church", 33-46. On the ecclesiological models as worked out by Kilmartin and its implications for governance and liturgy cf. Mary M. Schaefer, "Presence of the Trinity: Relationship or Idea?", *Liturgical Ministry* 19, no. 4 Fall (2010), 145-156.

<sup>354</sup> Kilmartin, "Ecclesiastical Office, Power and Spirit," 102.

<sup>355</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Ministry", in *The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Theology*, ed. Alan Richardson and John Bowden (UK: SCM Press, 1983), 369.

<sup>356</sup> Kilmartin, "The Eucharist: Nourishment for Communion", 1043-1085.

<sup>357</sup> See p. 154.

<sup>358</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," 268.

Kilmartin can call the Church the sacrament of both Christ and the Spirit. Kilmartin asserts that the Spirit receives its own mission from the glorified Christ and, therefore, the Spirit always remains "Christ-ward." Like in his Spirit-Christology, Kilmartin also keeps the missions of Christ and of the Spirit together in his ecclesiology. His emphasis on the Trinitarian communion ecclesiology calls our attention to the unity between the three divine persons, which works as the foundation of our unity in Him, the communion of churches, and the communion of the laity and clergy. His critical analysis of Vatican II's Christomonistic theologies calls us to look into the misconception and the often undervalued role of the Spirit.

#### 2.5.4 MINISTRY

Kilmartin argues for a theology of the priesthood that gives sufficient attention to common or universal priesthood "which is shared by all believers commonly."<sup>359</sup> He clarifies two key points: 1) that common priesthood should not be identified with the ministerial functions of the baptized people, and 2) because common priesthood by baptism is for all, the ordained ministers should not think that they have been awarded two priesthoods. Kilmartin believes that the ministerial priesthood is an active aspect of the common priesthood and is a special ministry by the ordained. The differences between common and ministerial priesthood can be understood well in terms of their functions. Both these priesthoods are oriented towards each other.<sup>360</sup>

The scholastic view of the priest acting only in the person of Christ [*in persona Christi*] as opposed to the idea of acting on behalf of the Church [*in persona ecclesiae*] in the Eucharist is problematical for Kilmartin because it suggests that the relationship of the Church to Christ is not direct, but is mediated by the ministerial priesthood.

Arguing against the traditional scholastic approach of the ordained priest as an intermediate between Christ and the Church (Christ-Priest-Church) and its overemphasis on priestly power, Kilmartin believes that this position undervalues the ecclesiological characteristics of universal priesthood whilst keeping the Christological aspects through the action of the ordained priest over inflated.<sup>361</sup> If one agrees with the view that it is only the priest who relates Christ to the Church because he is the direct representative of Christ, then this puts emphasis exclusively on the ministerial priesthood and ignores the common priesthood of the believers. Kilmartin thinks that a theology of the priesthood that emphasizes only the role of the ministerial priesthood needs to be rethought. In his view, it is necessary to show that the ordained priest represents both Christ and the Church in a way that does not entail a split between these two roles and that the ministerial priesthood is embedded in the common priesthood of all believers.

Against the current magisterial view,<sup>362</sup> Kilmartin favors the following scheme: Christ-Church-Priest, in which he embeds the role of ordained priest in the

<sup>359</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 91.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>361</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 190.

<sup>362</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 420-429.



relationship between Christ and Church.<sup>363</sup> Kilmartin believes in this way the priest first represents the Church. This is reflected in the fact that it is the Church as a whole that requests the bishop to ordain the candidate priest, so that he might represent the Church (and therefore Christ), speaking and acting on its behalf.

However, the priest has the function of representing not only the Church but also has the function of representing Christ. Both these functions are related for Kilmartin. In order to explain the function and relationship, he takes the clue from the scholastic explanation of sacraments – between the symbol and its twofold signification, commonly known as the distinction between *sacramentum tantum*, *res et sacramentum* and *res tantum*. In the case of Baptism, for example, the symbols – the water and the profession of faith – firstly signify incorporation into the community of believers in Christ, which “is perceptible at the level of human experience.” This signification (incorporation into community) in its turn “functions to symbolize a spiritual reality: integration into body of Christ.”<sup>364</sup> Kilmartin writes that, likewise in the liturgical celebration, i.e. seen from the perspective of the “sensible rite,” “the priest first represents ... the Church in its sacramental activity and secondly represents ... Christ the Head of the Church.” But one can also analyze the signification process in the reverse order, starting with what is ultimately signified, for “what is ultimately signified directs the whole process.” From this perspective, “the priest first represents ... Christ the Head of the Church and secondly represents ... the Church united in faith and love.”<sup>365</sup>

### 2.5.4.1 Faith as Adjoining Priest and Church

For Kilmartin it is important to make clear that the priest represents both Christ and the Church in a way that does not imply a disjunction between these two. Representing the Church means representing the “faith of the Church of which they are leaders.”<sup>366</sup> By implicating faith, Kilmartin is able to show that the Church, through its minister, the priest, who represents its faith, is now able to connect itself with Christ. The minister’s representation of Christ comes about through the direct representation of the faith of the Church.<sup>367</sup>

Kilmartin argued for entering into reflection on the faith of the Church and its relation to Christ. Faith is the connecting bond between the faith of Jesus and the faith of the Church. We will come back to the question on the faith of Christ in the third chapter.<sup>368</sup> For now, it is important to show the relation between Christ and the Church through faith. Jesus’ response of faith is the only acceptable and viable way of communion with the Father. The faith of the Church stands in relation to the faith of Christ in two ways. First, it is a participation in Christ’s response of faith since the risen Lord is present in the Church. Second, there is pneumatological basis for the intimate relation of the faith of the Church to that of Christ.<sup>369</sup>

<sup>363</sup> Ibid., 439-440.

<sup>364</sup> Kilmartin, “Bishop and Presbyter as Representatives of Christ and the Church”, 296.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid., 297.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid., 295-302.

<sup>367</sup> Kilmartin, “Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ,” 252.

<sup>368</sup> See p. 198.

<sup>369</sup> Kilmartin, “Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church,” 542-543.

According to Kilmartin, faith is first of all a gift from the Spirit to the whole Church, all believers. However, the apostolic office has its own, necessary function within the communication of faith to the Church. In a specific way, the Church exists through this faith which has been given to apostles. Kilmartin situates the risen Lord's appearances to the Apostles as the founding facts of faith. Through his post-resurrection appearances, Christ not only presents Himself *to them* but is also present *in them* through the Spirit.<sup>370</sup> By allowing Himself to be seen by the Apostles, "the chosen witnesses," the risen Christ bestows the gift of faith in them. Nevertheless, He makes Himself present in them only through his Spirit. This implies that it is the Holy Spirit which "enabled the chosen witnesses to recognize" Christ. These chosen witnesses become a "sharing source" of faith but in the Spirit. These chosen witnesses maintain their faith through their memory in the Spirit.<sup>371</sup> This again implies that without the Spirit, faith cannot be maintained, for it is the Spirit which is "the living source of ... faith."<sup>372</sup> Kilmartin stresses that faith given to the chosen witnesses is in view of the Church as a whole: "The apostolic faith is maintained in the faith of the Church as a whole."<sup>373</sup> These chosen witnesses were called and sent to form the new people of God, the Church, in the faith they received. Consequently, the faith that comes down through apostolic succession is necessary but subordinate in relation to the faith imparted to the Church as a whole. The faith of the Church as a whole takes precedence.

As mentioned, within the faith of the Church, the apostolic office has a special role to play. The faith of the apostles is the faith of the Church and based on this faith the Church continues to function as the Church. The Spirit is "co-commissioned" to the apostolic mission "to work interiorly in and with the Church and with divine freedom."<sup>374</sup> Kilmartin concludes that the pastoral office directly represents the faith of the Church. Christ is understood to make Himself personally present *to* the Church and the apostolic office, and *in* the Church and the apostolic office through the faith imparted to the apostles which is given in view of the Church as a whole.<sup>375</sup> Kilmartin agrees with the idea that the ministry of the priest belongs to the essential structures of the Church. However, he rejects the idea that Christ binds Himself to institutions that function independently of the faith of the Church.<sup>376</sup>

The foregoing perspectives provide convincing evidence that, for Kilmartin, both common and ministerial priesthood come through the action of the power of the Holy Spirit. It is the Spirit that connects humanity with Christ, and in particular with Christ's own Spirit-filled life and faith. The 'apostolic office' is a sharing in the power of the Spirit mediated by the Church.<sup>377</sup>

Kilmartin welcomes the traditional phrase *in persona Christi* as long as the *sensus fidelium* [sense of the faith on the part of the faithful] is also given importance. He

<sup>370</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 239.

<sup>371</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 329.

<sup>372</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 71.

<sup>373</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 330.

<sup>374</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 71.

<sup>375</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 239-240.

<sup>376</sup> Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," 252.

<sup>377</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

suggests that by integrating the *sensus fidelium*, the *in persona Christi* “correctly stresses that the ordained are not delegates of the community, and that their ministry derives from Christ and is supported by Christ and the Spirit.”<sup>378</sup> However, he is critical of overemphasizing the *in persona Christi* especially in what he calls the “average theology,” which will be dealt with in depth in the third chapter.<sup>379</sup> Kilmartin cautions that one should not take for granted that a priest automatically represents Christ in his ministry.<sup>380</sup> One of his positions is his insistence on the meaning of *ex opere operato*. He insists that this [*ex opere operato*] is not rooted in the sacred power of the priest but in the *faith* of the whole assembly of the Church. This means that in the sacramental celebrations of the Church, it is the community that must take the central position of the celebration.<sup>381</sup> Hence, Kilmartin appeals for an apostolic ministry which represents more the faith of the Church [the believers] than a kind of independent power bestowed on the ordained clergy. Kilmartin strives to show that the ordained priest directly represents, first of all, the faith of the Church and, in doing so, represents Christ and his human faith. Also, the priest represents the faith of Christ and, in doing so, represents the Church. Hence, faith becomes the connecting bond between Christ and the Church. The priest and the Church share in one faith, united by the Spirit. In this way, Kilmartin sees Christ in the Church and, at the same time, the Church in Christ. Unlike the traditional teachings which “insert[s] the function of the priest to represent the Church into the function to represent Christ,” Kilmartin opts for a theology that “situates the *in persona Christi* within the *in persona Ecclesiae*” with faith working as a bridge between the two.<sup>382</sup>

Kilmartin objects to the scholastic idea by which the priest receives his priestly power only at the time of his ordination and thereafter shares in the unique priesthood of Christ. Contrary to this view, Kilmartin believes that the priest is acting in the name of the Christ, in particular in the Eucharist, not simply because he represents Christ, but because he represents the *faith* of Christ. Since he represents the faith of the Church, he also represents the Church. The priest is one of the faithful who does certain things on behalf of the community to which they respond by saying “Amen.” This is possible because “in the Eucharist, Christ is affirmed to be the one Lord of the community to which he unites Himself.”<sup>383</sup>

With this view, Kilmartin claims to retrieve an older tradition in Western theology, represented in the works of John Duns Scotus [1265-1308] and Gabriel Biel [1420/25–1495]. They view the priest as the minister who represents the Church and is therefore representative of Christ.<sup>384</sup> It is clear that Kilmartin prefers the Scotus-Biel tradition. But he also explicitly connects that tradition with patristic views. Kilmartin is arguing for a return to that traditional understanding, which he views as proper and theologically meaningful. He advocates for “a retrieval in theology and practice that is clearly consistent with the more original Eucharistic ecclesiology.”<sup>385</sup>

<sup>378</sup> Kilmartin, “Office and Charism: Reflections on a New Study of Ministry,” 553.

<sup>379</sup> See p. 131.

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid.*, 553.

<sup>381</sup> Daniel Donovan, *What Are They Saying About the Ministerial Priesthood?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1992), 131.

<sup>382</sup> Kilmartin, “Ecclesiastical Office, Power and Spirit,” 104.

<sup>383</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, “Eucharist and Community,” *Emmanuel* 82, (1976), 92.

<sup>384</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 160-163; Also cf. Daly, *The Council of Trent*, 161-162.

<sup>385</sup> Kilmartin, “Review of the Sacrifice We Offer: The Tridentine Dogma and Its Reinterpretation by David N. Power, (New York 1987),” 344.

#### 2.5.4.2 Ministerial Priesthood, Representing Christ as Head of the Church in the Eucharist

Kilmartin explains the ordination to ministerial priesthood as coming through the action of the Holy Spirit. This ministerial priesthood comes through sacramental ordination and is accepted by the entire Church represented by the congregation, which responds to the prayer of the Bishop by saying the solemn 'Amen'. From this perspective, a priest is first viewed as a member of the larger community, the Church, which enables him, through the sacrament of ordination, to represent it, in particular in offering the Eucharistic sacrifice. This means the priest offers the sacrifice for the Church, not because he represents Christ in virtue of his ordination. Rather, in virtue of his ordination, he first represents the Church, which recognizes him as the representative of Christ. He is one of the participating assembly of people who is authorized to do certain things in the name of the gathering initiated into Christ through baptism. The priest, together with the assembly, shares in the universal priesthood of Christ, which is received in the sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, and Eucharist.<sup>386</sup>

The priest, as the president of the Eucharistic celebration, backed up by his own priestly commitments, has a unique and personal contribution to that celebration. Seen from the perspective of the EPs, he serves as an external agent of the Church which has commissioned him to act as their representative.<sup>387</sup> In other words, the priest has a very unique contribution. As the ordained leader of the assembly, he is endowed with the authority to continue the priestly office of Christ who relates Himself to the apostolic office. At the same time, the priest is ordained as the leader primarily to function as an agent of the Church's faith as he leads the assembly while saying the Eucharistic Prayer. So, from the perspective of faith, Kilmartin asserts:

Eucharistic worship is an activity of the whole Christ, head and body. The priest acts *in persona Christi capitis ecclesiae*. Acting as leader of the community, called by Christ and ordained and commissioned by the Church of Christ, the presiding priest is related in this ministry to Christ himself who has missioned him, and who is head of the community and high priest of its worship, and who is personally present and active in his worshipping community.<sup>388</sup>

From this quotation, one can see clearly juxtaposed the images of Christ and of the Church, indicated by 'head' and 'body'. Whereas the 'head' points to Christ, the High Priest, represented by the priest and missioned by Christ, the body points to the members of the community who commission the minister to represent them and their faith through ordination. So, the minister, called by Christ, commissioned by the Church in one faith, balances the relationship between them. This is why Kilmartin says, "between the action of Christ and the action of the Church in the Eucharistic

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<sup>386</sup> For Paul, by baptism we are inserted into Christ. For Kilmartin, this conformity to Christ is not looked on as something static, but it is expanded in the sacrament of confirmation. Cf. Kilmartin, "Patristic Views of Sacramental Sanctity," 65 & 73

<sup>387</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 375.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*, 375-376

celebration there exists an intimate organic unity. For the priestly act of the Church is based on a participation in the priesthood of Christ."<sup>389</sup>

#### 2.5.4.3 The Ecclesiological–Christological Aspect of Ministerial Priesthood

Kilmartin believes that failure of a serious investigation into "the Christological and pneumatological-ecclesiological dimension of pastoral office" has left the Western Church reeling, incapable of addressing its deepest challenges.<sup>390</sup> Kilmartin does not diminish the Christological dimension of the ministerial priesthood; rather, he tries to balance the relationship between the Christological and the ecclesiological aspects through pneumatology. He does this by beginning with an emphasis on the ecclesiological and from there moving to the Christological dimension, rather than starting with the Christological as preceding the ecclesiological, which was common in Thomistic theology and in the 'average theology' which will be discussed shortly.<sup>391</sup> Kilmartin's view, in fact, complements and deepens the Christological character of the priest acting in *persona Christi capitis ecclesiae*.

For Kilmartin, the local assembly gathered with its minister at the Eucharistic table does not just deputize Christ but is Christ Himself, because it is his body and they both share in one faith. The priest, acting as the head of the Church, represents the "invisible side of the mystery of communion of humanity with God."<sup>392</sup> The invisible side involves Christ as head of the Church who unites Himself to the Church through the Spirit. The priest signifies this unity between Christ and the Church.<sup>393</sup> Since Christ in the person of the priest is the Head, the priest can never be separated from the Church, the body. Although the Eucharist is a celebration of the Church as a whole, which includes both the priest and the assembly, it is only through the ordained priest that the Eucharist is presided. Taking clues from the Early Christian writing, *Apostolic Tradition*, Kilmartin says, "the role of leadership of the Eucharist falls to the bishop with his presbyters."<sup>394</sup> They are the ones who place the hands over the bread and wine "in a sacrificial gesture."<sup>395</sup> Moreover, they are the ones who utter the EP of the Church.<sup>396</sup> Therefore, besides emphasizing the common priesthood, Kilmartin also emphasises the importance of the ministerial priesthood.

#### 2.5.4.4 Priesthood of the Baptized Believers

With regard to the celebration of the Eucharist, Kilmartin suggests moving past the exclusive focus on the moment of consecration to focus attention on communion and participation. In this way, he stresses also the priesthood of all the believers – the common priesthood. Quoting Ambrose, Kilmartin bases his suggestion on the words,

<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>390</sup> Kilmartin, "Bishop and Presbyter as Representatives of Christ and the Church", 301.

<sup>391</sup> See p. 131.

<sup>392</sup> Kilmartin, "Ecclesiastical Office, Power and Spirit," 103.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>394</sup> Kilmartin, "Pastoral Office and the Eucharist," 314.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid., 314.

<sup>396</sup> Ibid., 315 -317.

"all are anointed for kingship and priesthood."<sup>397</sup> While during the liturgical celebration Christ is represented by the person of the ordained priest, Kilmartin believes that Christ is represented also in the common priesthood of all believers: "the priesthood of all believers is another form of representation of Christ."<sup>398</sup> Common priesthood comes through baptism. While it is the ordained priest who presides over the Mass as a representative of Christ, it is the believers who share in the priesthood of Christ through baptism who offer the sacrifice of the Mass.<sup>399</sup> Every baptised person is a representative of Christ who is called to participate in every liturgical service according to their gifts and special ministries.<sup>400</sup> In virtue of their royal priesthood, the faithful join in the offering of the Eucharist.<sup>401</sup>

Finally, common priesthood, according to Kilmartin, also has ecumenical consequences. If the reformed churches have sufficient Eucharistic faith, which they have by baptism, then this makes them part of the one Church of Christ.<sup>402</sup> He states that, "the Eucharist, though related to Orders, is no longer exclusively connected with priestly powers."<sup>403</sup> In saying this, Kilmartin endorses, in principle, intercommunion with Protestants and ministers from other denominations in celebrating the Eucharist, because through their baptism all believers share in the office of the ordained priests. Nevertheless, in order to safeguard the character of the apostolic succession, the ministry that comes through the bishop, Kilmartin believes that such leadership must come through sacramental ordination. He also argues, in his review of the Book *Amt und Eucharistie* in 1974, that every Christian Church must refer itself back to the authentic liturgical tradition which, in his view, provides "the point of departure for the mutual recognition of office which will further the unity of the one Church of Christ (of the East and West)."<sup>404</sup>

### 2.5.4.5 Conclusion

We have been considering Kilmartin's views on priesthood in the Catholic Church. Kilmartin recognizes the importance of both ministerial and common priesthood but believes that overemphasis on the ministerial priesthood tends to diminish the common priesthood of believers. This is what happened in the scholastic view of the ordained priest as acting *in persona Christi* as opposed to *in persona ecclesiae*, which denies the Church's direct relationship with Christ. Hence, *in persona Christi* requires rethinking and a new ecclesiological emphasis. Ministerial priesthood must be understood from a wider perspective, that of the common priesthood, because a priest is first the priest of the Church and there is no disjunction between the two roles as representative of Christ and as the representative of the Church. Kilmartin argues that 'faith' connects both the priesthoods: the priesthood of Christ and the priesthood of the people. It is through the faith that has been handed over to the Church as a whole

<sup>397</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 20.

<sup>398</sup> Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," 250.

<sup>399</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice", 613.

<sup>400</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 77.

<sup>401</sup> Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," 248.

<sup>402</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," 265.

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid.*, 275.

<sup>404</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of *Amt und Eucharistie* by P. Bläser et Al, Paderborn 1973," *Theological Studies* 35, no. 3 (1974), 569.

that the Church is able to connect itself to Christ and his faith which works as the viable way to the Father through the priest who acts on behalf of the Church. Although in principle every baptized person sharing in the common priesthood is able to celebrate the Mass, only a priest who has received a valid ordination can preside at the Mass since ministerial priesthood comes through the apostolic succession realized in the ordination to the ministerial priesthood. That does not mean a priest cannot partake in the Eucharistic celebration of other denominations. He can do so from the perspective of common priesthood.

Having gone through Kilmartin's views on ministry, we move on to discuss his views on the liturgical celebrations and the activity of Christ, the Church, and the role of the Spirit in the liturgical celebrations as they play a key role in his theology.

### 2.5.5 LITURGY AND SACRAMENTS

Earlier in our discussion, we briefly noted how profoundly Kilmartin views the importance of the liturgical aspect of the community of the Church, and one can cite a number of his articles specifically dedicated to the 'theology of liturgy'.<sup>405</sup> The Christian community receives its identity from its liturgy because the "life of faith" grows in and through it.<sup>406</sup> Therefore, liturgy is to be considered "the most important place in which the Christian community expresses its nature."<sup>407</sup> Moreover, it has also become clear that throughout his works, Kilmartin stresses the importance of the theology of the Trinity. Kilmartin relates the theology of liturgy with the theology of the (economic) Trinity although this is not something entirely new to the theological world. Scholars such as Theodor Schneider (1930–)<sup>408</sup> and Lothar Lies (1940–2008),<sup>409</sup> and also Rahner, have tried to offer a sacramental theology with Trinitarian foundations integrating pneumatology, Christology, and ecclesiology. However, Kilmartin notes that a "thoroughgoing systematic presentation" of such theology is only in development even in the works of Schneider.<sup>410</sup> A full integration of liturgical and Trinitarian theology is still lacking and Kilmartin wants to fill the lacuna saying that an integration of a Trinitarian theology that helps to understand better "the Christological and pneumatological dimensions of the liturgical event frequently remains unfinished business."<sup>411</sup>

<sup>405</sup> To name a few, Kilmartin, "Liturgical Theology II."; Edward J. Kilmartin, "Theology as Theology of the Liturgy", in *Primary Sources of Liturgical Theology: A Reader*, ed. Dwight Vogel (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000).

<sup>406</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 282.

<sup>407</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology as Theology of the Liturgy", 103-109.

<sup>408</sup> For the work of Schneider cf. Theodor Schneider, *Zeichen der Nähe Gottes : Grundriss der Sakramententheologie* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald, 1979).

<sup>409</sup> For the work of Lies, cf. Lothar Lies, "Trinitätsvergessenheit gegenwärtiger Sakramententheologie," *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 105, (1983).

<sup>410</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy* I, 110. Refer to note 1. Also cf. Regis A. Duffy, David N. Power, and Kevin W. Irwin, "Current Theology: Sacramental Theology: Review of Literature," *Theological Studies* 55, no. 1 (1994), 665. For the original works of Schneider and Lies, cf. Theodor Schneider, *Zeichen der Nähe Gottes: Grundriss der Sakramententheologie* (Mainz: Grünwald, 1987); and Lothar Lies, *Sakramententheologie: Eine personale Sicht* (Styria: Graz, 1990).

<sup>411</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy* I, 103.

Kilmartin thinks that the stem of theological enterprise should be rooted in liturgy.<sup>412</sup> The sacraments fall into the category of liturgy because they are acts of the Church which, he thinks, also constitute the Church. Therefore, without them, the identity of the Catholic Church is lost.<sup>413</sup> In the drama of the God-human encounter, liturgical celebrations play a great role. In his work, Kilmartin often limits the discussion of liturgical celebrations to the seven sacraments of the Church, but he sees sacramentality in the entire liturgy and life of the Church. The liturgy of the Church is the most important channel of revealing the Trinity. Earlier in our discussion, we looked at the participation of humanity in the divine life of God as the goal of salvation history.<sup>414</sup> For Kilmartin, this participation is already becoming an actuality in the liturgical celebrations of the Church. His theology of liturgy is, therefore, strongly intrinsically connected with the theology of the economic Trinity. Power comments that "[Kilmartin] sees the effort to demonstrate how a theology of liturgy might be articulated as a theology of the economic Trinity as a crucial theological task."<sup>415</sup> For Kilmartin, the true purpose of the sacraments, as foci of the liturgical celebrations, is the divine consecration of humankind and the veneration of God, the Creator. Liturgical celebrations of the sacraments are the means par excellence whereby a dialogical encounter between the Triune God and humanity becomes a reality. A "dialogical" character lies at the heart of Kilmartin's discussion on liturgy, which we shall spell out here.

For Kilmartin, the sacraments are "connected with the symbolized reality (God's self-communication)" which is "approached as a reality" in the liturgical celebrations through a sacramental rite from the part of the worshipping community.<sup>416</sup> In the liturgical celebrations of the sacraments, the self-communication of God is entirely revealed in and through signs and symbols, people, and places. It presents God's compassionate love of self-communication with humanity, but also with the whole of creation. The sacramental celebrations are, in fact, "grounded on what God has done and is doing now."<sup>417</sup> Kilmartin agrees with the theological outlook of the Patristic Fathers for whom the sacraments manifest God's presence.

In the liturgy, Kilmartin says, "the whole cosmos is called to return to God in a unique liturgy which links heaven to earth."<sup>418</sup> At the same time, the sacraments are the human language and symbolic actions by which the believing community expresses itself. In other words, the sacraments are the means of communication of God to the Church. By the same means, they also become the means for humans to communicate to God. The sacraments not only remain a means of revelation, but also become a means by which our human response to God's self-communication is established.<sup>419</sup> While God communicates to us through the sacraments, human beings respond to God reciprocally through the same means of the sacraments. This response to divine revelation through the sacraments is vital to the divine-human encounter. The liturgical celebration of the sacraments is a form of response of faith from the

<sup>412</sup> Kilmartin, *Forword to Jean Corbon: The Wellspring of Worship*, 7-8.

<sup>413</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 527.

<sup>414</sup> See p. 95.

<sup>415</sup> Regis A. Duffy, David N. Power, and Kevin W. Irwin, "Current Theology: Sacramental Theology: Review of Literature," *Ibid.* 55, no. 1 (1994), 666.

<sup>416</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 366.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>418</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 283.

<sup>419</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 534.



worshipping community as a whole as well as from each individual. Every believer is considered to be a subject of sacramental celebrations.<sup>420</sup> Because liturgy is the expression of our response to God for what we have received, "it is not primarily aimed at doctrinal instruction," but rather a prayer from the human side.<sup>421</sup>

For Kilmartin, every celebration of a sacrament affects our personal bond with God and one another. The third person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, works in a mysterious way through these sacraments, thereby fulfilling its role for the believers in an effective way. The Spirit leads us to Christ, who then unites us with the Father. By our participation in the liturgical celebrations of the sacraments, we come closer to God and to obtaining the gifts of the Holy Spirit. In every sacramental action, the Spirit is at work. It is precisely the Spirit that has the power of reminiscence and actualization. Kilmartin says, "the sacramental celebrations are acts of the Church in which ... the Holy Spirit is the Mediation"<sup>422</sup> and the "source of ... exercises of the faith."<sup>423</sup> The exercises of faith are practiced in liturgical celebrations with a view of coming together in Christ's name in order to realize the spirit of communion, and to experience an act of "sharing and receiving between God, community, and individual, in a coordinated system of ministerial services."<sup>424</sup> The liturgical celebration is not a private, but an ecclesial, communal event. "It is impossible for a Christian to hope uniquely for himself or [herself]," Kilmartin insists.<sup>425</sup> In Kilmartin's theology, the liturgical celebrations actualize the various phases of participation in the life of the Trinity. This view is something that we can trace even in the earliest (1965) part of his works: "the Eucharist unites men to Christ and in Christ with the Father in the intimate share of the Trinitarian life."<sup>426</sup> Therefore, aspects of these liturgical celebrations require further discussion.

#### 2.5.5.1 The Revelatory Nature of the Liturgy

Kilmartin sees the mystery of the Trinity as revealed in the liturgical and sacramental actions of the Church. Liturgical worship is "an expression of the openness of the creature to God and a means used by God to enter into the heart and mind of the worshipper."<sup>427</sup> In the liturgical celebrations, God's mystery "is represented and shared in a festive way... [and] is continually offered and accepted in all the dimensions of the daily life of faith."<sup>428</sup> Therefore, the liturgy must exist as a dynamic reality, a privileged place for meeting God in person. Although liturgy is an action of the Church itself by its faith, it is "ultimately the work of the Triune God" because it is in the liturgy that God reveals Himself.<sup>429</sup> For Kilmartin, Christians are invited to liturgical celebrations in order to seek and understand what God is doing, rather than what the Church is doing: "this is why the liturgy of the sacraments is always referred

<sup>420</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 367-369.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>422</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 370.

<sup>423</sup> Kilmartin, "Culture and the Praying Church", 78.

<sup>424</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 112-113.

<sup>425</sup> Kilmartin, *Eschatology and the Evanston Congress*, as quoted in Hall, *We Have the Mind of Christ*, 138-139.

<sup>426</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 132.

<sup>427</sup> Kilmartin, "A Roman Catholic Response", 138.

<sup>428</sup> Kilmartin, *Foreword to Jean Corbon: The Wellspring of Worship*, 7.

<sup>429</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 180.

to God: a response of praise and thanksgiving for what God has done and is doing now in the liturgical assembly."<sup>430</sup> This is not to say that Kilmartin downplays the liturgy from the perspective of the Church. Rather, he tries to make clear precisely what God is doing in worship and, by extension, to understand the Church's response to it.

### 2.5.5.2 Anabatic and Katabatic

The liturgical celebrations "always represent twofold dimension of a saving event": 1) the self-communication of the Trinity – i.e. Father through the Son in the Spirit – indicating a movement 'from above,' and 2) the self-offering of the community, the Church, through Jesus Christ in the Spirit to the Father, indicating a movement 'from below'. These two movements are identified as *katabatic* (to go down) and *anabatic* (to go up).<sup>431</sup> The two-fold movement, a back and forth play, is aimed at the sanctification of believers so that they may receive God's self-gift (*katabatic*) and, without restraint, give themselves back (*anabatic*) to God in love and faith in Christ and the Spirit.<sup>432</sup>

Prior to Vatican II, the Church's emphasis was almost exclusively on the *katabatic* movement, particularly on the idea that "the sacraments are sacred signs, instituted by Christ, to give grace."<sup>433</sup> These views have, however, undergone great change after Vatican II.<sup>434</sup> Importance is now given to both the *anabatic* as well as *katabatic* movements or dimensions, i.e. the liturgy or the sacramental celebrations are seen not only as God's activity, but also as activity of the believers. Such views were already present in the encyclical *Mediator Dei* (1947). In this letter, the Pope refers to the *anabatic* method in which the believers' offering of themselves in liturgy was viewed as "the virtue of religion."<sup>435</sup>

Kilmartin asserts the dialogical character of the liturgy for all aspects of sacramental theology. Quoting the Vatican document *Sacrosanctum Concilium* – which explains liturgy as "both God's word to the community and the community's response to God" – Kilmartin expresses significant dissatisfaction since the document actually seems more concerned with God's address to those gathered for worship. In contrast, he emphasizes those liturgical elements which could be identified with the response of the faith of the people resulting from the risen Lord's presence in them. Kilmartin defines these liturgical elements as *prayer*.

For Kilmartin, the goal of the *anabatic* movement is to make the believing community holy in this unholy world through uniting their personal faith with the faith of Jesus,<sup>436</sup> so that they may eventually, through Him, with Him, and in Him, be able to

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<sup>430</sup> Ibid., 368.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid., 335.

<sup>432</sup> Kilmartin, "Culture and the Praying Church", 90.

<sup>433</sup> Quoted from Bernard J. Cooke, *Sacraments & Sacramentality* (New London, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 1994), 78.

<sup>434</sup> Kenan B. Osborne, *Sacramental Theology: A General Introduction* (Mahwah, N.J: Paulist Press, 1988), 12-13.

<sup>435</sup> Pope Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, cf. no. 32.

<sup>436</sup> See p. 198.

bind themselves with God in their worship.<sup>437</sup> In liturgy, especially in giving praise and thanks to the Father for the gift of salvation in Christ, the believers are configured to Christ. That said, Kilmartin makes it clear that the *anabatic* is “made possible” because of the *katabatic* or the divine action by the Spirit. Through the gift of the Spirit, which the Son sends from the Father, the believing community is made children of the Father.<sup>438</sup>

Kilmartin warns that while the *anabatic* movement is immediately accessible and could be externalized, the *katabatic* “cannot be directly externalized” because it is something that is purely a divine act. For instance, he says, “the risen Lord in his glorified humanity, cannot be rendered directly visible to the eye at the level of the external liturgical rites.”<sup>439</sup>

Kilmartin explains that while the sacraments are effective signs of Jesus’ divine-human love of the Father, it is also the divine-human love of humanity. Whereas the *katabatic* is associated with the glorification of the Father, the *anabatic* is associated with sanctification of the faithful into union with Him, so that together with Him they can love the Father the way He loves.<sup>440</sup> For Kilmartin, being drawn into the Son is an important component of his liturgical theology. This is made possible by the Holy Spirit. In the liturgical celebrations, it is the Spirit that “enables the return of the earthly assembly of the believers to the Father through Christ.” Christ relates Himself to the prayer of the Church, to the symbolic offerings of the bread and wine in the Eucharist, which is the sign of his offering of self to the Father for communion with the children and the Father.<sup>441</sup>

The discussion above stimulates another important insight. It is common to think that the souls of human beings return to God only when they die and, therefore, ultimate unity in God is possible only through death. However, Kilmartin’s view allows for the belief that we human beings can return to God not only at our death where we will be united with Him forever, but that we can also return to Him and be united with Him and hence partake of Trinitarian communication here and now through the *anabatic* movement in our liturgical celebrations. In this connection, Kilmartin also brings up the point of faith. Because of his faith in the Father, Jesus could willingly give Himself up for the sake of humanity. If God has accepted Jesus and his sacrifice because of his faith and made Him his own, then logically, if we can touch the faith of Jesus with our own faith, and participate in his sacrifice, then we can be confident that our lives will also be acceptable to God. In this way, we might become the true children of God and Christ in this world here and now.

### 2.5.5.3 Synthesis of Liturgical Celebrations and the Bestowal Model

The *anabatic* and *katabatic* movements in the foregoing discussion are not something that exist in isolation in the liturgical celebration. These movements are intrinsically correlated to Kilmartin’s Trinitarian and Christological views. A synthesis of these

<sup>437</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 372.

<sup>438</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 347.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*, 335-336.

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid.*, 246-250.

<sup>441</sup> *Ibid.*, 190-191.

movements and the bestowal model, including its Christological consequences, will help to clarify how Kilmartin understands liturgical participation as the inchoate participation of the believers in the life of Trinity. The ‘anabatic’ and ‘katabatic’ movements in the liturgy have, for him, to do with ‘descending’ and ‘ascending’ Christologies and, hence, also with the ‘procession’ and the ‘bestowal’ model in Trinitarian theology.<sup>442</sup> As we saw above,<sup>443</sup> Kilmartin develops the ascending Spirit Christology, which includes and complements the descending Logos Christology. Whereas a descending Christology has to do with the ‘procession model’, an ascending Christology, which is associated with Spirit Christology, is related to the bestowal model. While Kilmartin uses the terms ascending and descending more often in the context of Christology and pneumatology, he uses *katabatic* and *anabatic* in relation to the liturgical celebrations.

Kilmartin thinks that the Trinitarian procession model implies a focus on the *katabatic* flow of grace to humankind in liturgy but cannot account for the liturgical *anabatic* flow from our side returning to God. He thinks the bestowal model, as adapted from Coffey, can also explain this return movement. Kilmartin’s interpretation of the bestowal model does not actually deny the procession model. Rather, it incorporates the procession model and puts it in a wider context with significant consequences for Christology, ecclesiology, and liturgy. According to Kilmartin, in the immanent Trinity, it is not false to say the Son proceeds from the Father, but this procession is best understood in terms of the Father’s bestowal of the Spirit on to the Son. Likewise, the procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, should be interpreted as the Son’s bestowal of the Spirit on to the Father. Accordingly, in the economic Trinity, the Son/Logos is sent (descending Logos Christology), but this mission is, in fact, realized by the bestowal of the Spirit upon Jesus (ascending Spirit Christology). When the Spirit is said to be sent by Christ, the sending covers, in fact, a double movement: 1) Jesus Christ’s return of the Spirit back to the Father from the Cross, and 2) his bestowal of the Spirit on the Church. In this way, the Church is sanctified and taken up in the return movement to the Father, but inchoately, in the hope of the full, eschatological realization.

The bestowal model’s implication for liturgy and believers is as follows. Kilmartin believes that the bestowal model, which emphasizes an ascending Christology as ‘counterpart’ of a descending Christology, fulfils the function and purpose of the entire self-communication of God, i.e. in communicating Himself to the whole of humanity, God not only encounters humankind through Jesus in the Spirit, but He is also closely encountered by human beings, through the humanity of Jesus in the Spirit. In this way, for Kilmartin, not only the Father and the Son are present to the Church, but the whole believing community is also present to the Father through Christ in the Spirit. Thus, just as there is a sense of the self-giving sacrifice of God in Jesus to humanity, so also is there a sense of our sacrifice to God in, with, and through Jesus. The procession of the Son in the immanent Trinity liturgically refers to Christ becoming present in the Eucharistic gifts. The procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son in the immanent Trinity corresponds to the descending of the Holy Spirit upon the gifts and the community. The *katabatic* movement of liturgy “brings about union of human persons with the Son as children of the Father,” uniting the people to

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<sup>442</sup> Ibid., 160-163 & 335.

<sup>443</sup> See p. 84.

Christ in the Spirit.<sup>444</sup> Both descending movements are aimed at the returning, *anabatic* movement of the faithful to become partakers of the inner Trinitarian life. As Kilmartin argues, in the Trinity, the procession-relations of the divine persons should be understood within the larger bestowal model. The upward movement of the believing community in the Eucharistic celebration (*anabasis*) correlates to the returning of the Spirit by the Son on the Cross (economic Trinity) and to the eternal bestowal of the Spirit on to the Father by the Son (immanent Trinity). The purpose of this *anabatic* movement is "to draw a person into union with the Son, and so to love the Father in the one Son."<sup>445</sup> In other words, the Spirit unites the faithful with Christ and makes them join the movement of Christ and the Spirit in their return to the Father. By being united to Christ through the Spirit, the faithful as the children of the Son become partakers of the Son's response to the Father. This exemplifies the implication of the two movements, from Christology to ecclesiology/sacramentology and back. Such theology finds its full meaning in the liturgy, both in the word and the sacraments. Through these two-fold movements, a binding between God and humans is realized.<sup>446</sup> According to Kilmartin, when the personal mission of the Holy Spirit in the Church is introduced, the adoration of the Father takes on a new depth of meaning.<sup>447</sup> Kilmartin says, "the communion with the Father through Christ in the Spirit is manifested in a fully human and social way" in the liturgical celebrations.<sup>448</sup> The sacramental celebrations must be "viewed not only from the standpoint of descending Christology but also from that of ascending Christology, and when the two viewpoints are integrated, another understanding of the causality of the sacraments emerges."<sup>449</sup> The sacramental celebration provides an invitation "to respond in faith to the proclamation and thus enter into interpersonal communion with the community and with God the Father through Christ in the power of the Spirit."<sup>450</sup>

#### 2.5.5.4 The Presence of Christ and the Trinity in the Liturgy

According to Kilmartin, the "liturgy is a special mode of the personal presence of Christ."<sup>451</sup> His usage of the term 'special mode' indicates the existence of other modes of presence, both inside and outside liturgy. Drawing on various Church documents, such as *Mediator Dei*, *Mysterium Fidei*, and *Constitution on the Liturgy*, Kilmartin reminds us that there are different modes of the personal "presence of Christ" within the liturgy. Thus, in the liturgy, Christ is present in the *Eucharist* and *minister*, (other) *sacraments*, the *Word*, and *prayers*.<sup>452</sup> Besides Christ's personal presence in the liturgy, Kilmartin distinguishes Christ's cosmic presence quoting the NT sources (Acts. 2:33-36; Col.1. 15-20 - Jesus is at the right hand of the Father). He suggests that Christ rules the entire creation and history in power. This is possible because of the hypostatic union with the divine nature.<sup>453</sup> Kilmartin, therefore, warns that "it is a

<sup>444</sup> Kilmartin, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit," 249.

<sup>445</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 171.

<sup>446</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 341.

<sup>447</sup> *Ibid.*, 372.

<sup>448</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 356.

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid.*, 366.

<sup>450</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "When Is Marriage a Sacrament?," *Theological Studies* 34, no. 2 (1974), 276.

<sup>451</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 242.

<sup>452</sup> *Ibid.*, 238.

<sup>453</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 303 & 320.

mistake to conceive the liturgy as the event of a discrete intervention of the God of Salvation into an otherwise graceless world. Liturgy is not the only place where the event of grace occurs. Rather, it is a particular holy place within the broad sacral sphere of the whole of human existence."<sup>454</sup>

When Kilmartin speaks of the 'presence of Christ' in any of its modes, he is not limiting the presence of Christ to the Logos alone. Fundamentally, he is referring to the presence of the Trinity, as one of the divine persons can never be without the others. When the question of 'who or what is at the centre of our liturgical celebrations' arises, his response would be 'the Trinity'.<sup>455</sup> This is clear from his understanding of the theology of the liturgy as intrinsically linked with the theology of the Trinity.

For Kilmartin, Christ's personal presence "is not something that can be seen and known through merely human senses."<sup>456</sup> Rather, it needs faith through the Spirit. This implies the fact that liturgy is a place where, together with the presence of Christ, the presence of the Spirit is also experienced powerfully as sustaining the faith of the believers. Faith is the key for a community to their sharing in Christ. Kilmartin writes, "Christ presents himself in the liturgical event in the mode of celebrating the faith. In the liturgy the community affirms itself and represents itself. It expresses its faith and so represents Christ who is source of the faith."<sup>457</sup> The presence of Christ is actualized by the faith of the Church in commemorating the saving acts of Christ, especially his incarnation, life, and ministry, and, above all, his crucifixion, death, and victory. That is why the liturgy is salvific. In the liturgy, Christ's salvific acts are made available to all human beings, but faith is a necessary condition for the efficacy of Christ's salvific acts. This is the basis of the Church's sacramentality.<sup>458</sup> The call to Christ takes place through the call of the Church and its faith. Whoever responds to the divine invitation of the Church in faith therefore gains a share in the very life of Christ, who is the head of the Church.

The liturgical celebrations for Kilmartin become the very foundation where God and humankind meet each other through the person of Jesus in the Spirit. Kilmartin would have us see a liturgical celebration as sacred ground where the human-divine encounter takes place. It is the place of "communion of life between the Father and humankind in Christ through the gift of the Holy Spirit, which entails sharing of life of faith between those who participate in the mystery of the shared Trinitarian life."<sup>459</sup> Kilmartin also cautions that the life of faith cannot be limited to liturgical celebrations; rather, life of faith has implications for our social lives too. Although a detailed discussion on this aspect will follow in the next chapter, it is important to briefly mention here the social implication of the bond with Christ.<sup>460</sup> Kilmartin writes:

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<sup>454</sup> Kilmartin, "Culture and the Praying Church", 79.

<sup>455</sup> Pope Benedict suggested: "the Eucharist is our encounter and our communion with Blessed Trinity.... Communion with the Blessed Trinity is the very definition of heaven.... The amazing thing is that we have heaven in every Mass." Cf. Pope Benedict XVI, Easter Vigil Homily. Rome, April 15, 2006.

<sup>456</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 329.

<sup>457</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 242.

<sup>458</sup> Kilmartin, "Pastoral Office and the Eucharist," 314.

<sup>459</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 527.

<sup>460</sup> See p. 217.

... the phenomenon of liturgy may be described as the way in which the global perception of the life of faith that impregnates and structures the lives of individual believers and their life in common is expressed in their particular way of celebrating their new life in Christ. As such, liturgy brings to the surface the mystery of the Church of Christ, in order that it may be lived more consciously and explicitly in the social dimension of the life of faith.<sup>461</sup>

#### 2.5.5.5 The Sacrament of the Eucharist

For Kilmartin, as already described, the sacraments are the means by which a believer is configured more perfectly to Christ. As early as 1964, Kilmartin writes in "Review of the Mystery of Confirmation": "if the effect of baptism is to conform the Christian to Christ, the effect of confirmation and the other sacraments is to develop the initial resemblance: to realize in the Christian, who is made a Christian through baptism, a further aspect of the personal life of Christ."<sup>462</sup> Though Kilmartin focuses on the sacrament of confirmation, his usage of the term 'other sacraments' indicates that this is relevant for all the sacraments. Actually, the vast body of work on the Eucharist that Kilmartin left behind suggests his true emphasis was on the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Kilmartin finds a scriptural foundation for this emphasis in particular in St. Paul's writings. Kilmartin affirms that, for Paul, "the participation in the *mysterion* of salvation takes place above all in the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist."<sup>463</sup>

Of the seven sacraments of the Church, Kilmartin considered the Eucharist the focal point of Christ's presence, believing that the Eucharist furthers one's life in Christ more than any other. He says, "the abiding presence of Christ in the Church obtains its most intensive expression in the sacrament of the body and blood."<sup>464</sup> In every liturgical event, Christ is present. Aligning himself with the *Constitution on the Liturgy* of the Second Vatican Council, Kilmartin suggests that Christ is very specially present and experienced in the Eucharist because we can meet Him under the form of the Eucharistic species, the bread and wine.<sup>465</sup> It is in the celebration of the Eucharist that the self-giving act of Jesus is liturgically expressed, his intention being that humanity might encounter God through Him. The sacrament of the Eucharist, for Kilmartin, stands as the perfect model of liturgy. When the believers partake in this liturgical celebration of the Church, the presence of God is more fully manifested.<sup>466</sup>

According to Kilmartin, "between the action of Christ and the action of the Church in the Eucharistic celebration there exists an intimate organic unity. For the priestly act of the Church is based on a participation in the priesthood of Christ."<sup>467</sup> To put it in a different way, the Eucharistic celebration is the perfect enactment of the risen Christ

<sup>461</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 527.

<sup>462</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of the Mystery of Confirmation: A Theology of the Sacrament by Marian Bohen, New York 1963," *Theological Studies* 25, no. 2 (1963), 97.

<sup>463</sup> Kilmartin, "Patristic Views of Sacramental Sanctity," 145.

<sup>464</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 341.

<sup>465</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 243.

<sup>466</sup> Kilmartin, "Culture and the Praying Church", 79.

<sup>467</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 262.

and his saving acts in human beings. Therefore, it is in and through the Eucharistic celebration of the Church that we encounter Christ in a way He has not been encountered before. The authenticity of the believing community relies on their assertion that Jesus is present to them now in a way He has not been present to them before, in the sense that believers can now, in the Eucharistic celebration, be united to his glorious body, dwell in Him, and have Him also dwell in them.

For Kilmartin, such an encounter of the body of Christ in the Eucharist results in a reception of the fruit of the salvific work: a mutual abiding of the human being and Christ, which, by its very character includes a personal relationship with the Father. The “abiding” in the Son means a share in the abiding of the Son in the Father and of the Father in the Son, in unification with the Holy Spirit: a sharing in the life of the Trinity.<sup>468</sup> Thus, Kilmartin views the Eucharist as a place where communication, first between God and Christ Jesus, and then between Jesus Christ and his Church, takes place in a deeper way. Since Christ is God it could be said that it is an encounter between God and Church.

Although Kilmartin recognises the unique way of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist, he expresses dissatisfaction with the theological preoccupation over the centuries which tried to prove dogmatically the sacramental somatic presence of Jesus under the Eucharistic elements, rather than seeing what is actually happening in the liturgy, i.e. what God is doing there through Christ in the Spirit. This overarching point is more important for Kilmartin than engaging in debates of how Christ is present in the bread and wine. Kilmartin wants to venture into the depths of Christ’s presence to better understand why He is present there and what He is doing. Nevertheless, Kilmartin also speaks of the “somatic real presence” of Christ, which he believes is unique. In the sacrament of the Eucharist, Christ becomes present as fully as possible.<sup>469</sup>

### 2.5.5.6 Conclusion

So far we have been going through Kilmartin’s concept of liturgy and sacraments. Kilmartin considers liturgy as the most important place where the faith of people is expressed. It is also the place where God encounters believers and believers encounter God. Therefore, the liturgy has a dialogical character. Without the liturgy, the identity of the Church is weakened. The sacraments work as the means of communication between God and believers. The Spirit works in a mysterious way through these sacraments uniting people to Christ and, through him, to God. People are called to respond to God in thanksgiving for what God is doing. In liturgical celebrations, there are two dimensions revealed: God works through the Son and the Spirit in a katabatic movement, while the believers work through the Church via Christ and the Spirit in an anabatic movement. In the anabatic movement, the believers are made holy and united to Christ. Christ, who is present in the liturgical celebrations, can be experienced by one’s own faith. It is through faith that one can encounter Christ in the liturgy. The Eucharist is the focal point of Christ’s presence. A deep encounter

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<sup>468</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 126. By mutual abiding, Kilmartin means the mutual indwelling.

<sup>469</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 341.



between Christ and believers takes place in the Eucharist, under the forms of the Eucharistic species, the bread and wine.

## 2.6 CONCLUSION

We have discussed some of Kilmartin's basic theological concepts, which serve as essential background against which we can explain in the next chapter the Eucharistic sacrifice, which stands at the core of Kilmartin's theology.

Earlier in our assessment in the first part of this chapter, we saw how Kilmartin, influenced by thinkers such as Casel, Rahner, Giraudo, and other 20<sup>th</sup>-century theologians, worked on his sacramental studies, focusing on the Eucharist and the concept of sacrifice. Although these thinkers were his primary interlocutors, his special interest in ecumenism and also in the history of the liturgy should not be ignored. In his works on the Eucharist and sacrifice, Kilmartin often approached theology via history. Through his historical surveys he exposed issues which formed the kernel of his sacramental studies. Kilmartin's historical surveys helped him expose weaknesses in the theology on which the Church had been relying for a long time.

In the second part of this chapter on the basic theological ideas, we came to the conclusion that by paying closer attention to Rahner, Kilmartin took economic Trinity and its *three-ness* as his point of departure for a theology of the Trinity, which serves as the integrating centre of the whole of his theology. Making a distinction between Logos and Spirit Christology which has an essential development in the NT, and leaning on the Antiochene School's explanation, Kilmartin concluded that while the divine Logos assumed its humanity in the person of Jesus, it is the Spirit that sanctified Jesus and then made his presence through faith in the mind of the apostles and the Church.

Kilmartin concluded that the *ad extra* axiom – and the related idea of appropriation – required a reinvestigation by which the personal and proper mission of the Holy Spirit could be well emphasized. Basing his ideas on Coffey, Kilmartin developed his bestowal model and discovered that the procession model does not fulfill the goal of liturgical theology in relation to human beings' participation in the divine life of God because it emphasised only a one-way motion. Kilmartin highlights the work of the Spirit and stresses the aspect of participation in the life of the Trinity. The Paraclete is not only sent to consecrate Jesus, but also through Him, to make holy all ordinary individuals of faith.

In his explanation of theological anthropology, Kilmartin concluded that participation in the life of the Triune God is the ultimate goal of humanity. Such a theology emphasises the role of Christ, the Spirit, and the believers. Explaining the cosmic sacramentality, Kilmartin said that the presence of God is in everything that has been created. God's presence continues in history and in culture. In stressing the anthropocentric approach, which is well developed in his works in contrast with Kilmartin's rather limited attention for cosmic sacramentality, Kilmartin concluded that the redemption story, which began in creation, extended in the special history of the Israelites, and concluded in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth.

the mediator between God and humankind, now continues in the Church. For Kilmartin, salvation history is the foundation of participation in the life of God. Although Kilmartin does not wholly ignore the idea of (original) sin, it does not play an important role in his theological anthropology.

Explaining ecclesiology, Kilmartin concluded that sacraments constitute the pivotal meeting point of God and humans. Jesus Christ, who is the "primordial sacrament" of the encounter with God, is also the one from whom every sacrament derives. The Church itself is the 'root sacrament' since it continues the body of Christ and is also the "sacrament of the man Jesus Christ." It is through the Church that communication with God and humans in Jesus is established. Kilmartin also calls the Church the "sacrament of the Spirit" because it is through the Spirit that a unity between Christ and Church, and also a unity among the believers, is constituted. The mission of the Spirit is evident in the hearts of the believers who are active and who positively respond to Christ in their religious and moral beliefs and actions. Kilmartin's call for a Trinitarian communion ecclesiology insists on the possibility of an integral view of the Church in which there are various levels of participation: our communion in the life of God, between the local Churches in the universal Church, and between the hierarchy leaders and laity. An ecclesiology that contains the tendencies of a Christomonistic communion, as in most of the documents of the Second Vatican Council, is deficient because it undervalues the Holy Spirit.

Distinguishing between ministerial and common priesthood, Kilmartin concluded that the scholastic view of the priest acting *in persona Christi* does not do justice to the *in persona ecclesiae*, especially in view of the Church's direct relationship with Christ. It also diminishes the common priesthood of believers which originates in Baptism. Hence, it requires rethinking, a new ecclesiological emphasis. Priesthood, if viewed from the ecclesiological dimension – the priest as the representative of the Church – can bring deeper meaning to both ministerial as well as common priesthood. In this vein, the faith that has been given to the Apostles in the Spirit is to be viewed within the broader context of the faith given to the Church as a whole.

Kilmartin concludes that liturgy is the foremost place of God-human encounter and it gives identity to Christians. Since theology of the Trinity correlates to theology of the liturgy, working towards a systematically integrated theology of Trinity and liturgy is important. The liturgical celebrations of the sacraments provide the channel for participation in the divine life of God. Liturgy is not only a channel of God's communication to human beings but is also the place of human communication with God and, hence, it reveals a dialogical character. Everything that has been created is called to return to God in the liturgy, in which the Holy Spirit works in a mysterious way connecting us to God and Christ through the sacramental actions. In the liturgy, which is a celebration of God's mystery by the community, the believers are invited to seek and understand what God is doing, rather than what the Church is doing. While there is a supreme flow of God's communication and grace through a *katabatic* movement, which makes the believers children of the Father, there is also an *anabatic* movement from the human side, which configures the believers to Christ by the power of the Spirit. The *anabatic* and *katabatic* movement of the liturgy can also be explained through the Trinitarian bestowal model showing its correspondence to the bestowal of the Father and the Son in the form of the Spirit in the Immanent and economic Trinity. The bestowal model does not deny the procession model but

completes it by putting it in a wider context. Moreover, the ascending Spirit Christology compliments the Logos Christology. While Christ's presence is cosmic, his personal presence can be experienced in the history and in the liturgical celebrations of the Church. While all the sacraments are the means for believers to become configured more perfectly to Christ, it is the sacrament of the Eucharist that is the focal point of Christ's presence. The believers, by meeting Christ in faith in the liturgy, meet the persons of the whole Trinity. Faith, which is key for a community for their sharing in Christ, cannot be limited to liturgical celebrations but must be expressed in social lives.

From here, we move on to the third chapter of this dissertation where we will investigate Kilmartin's theology of Eucharistic sacrifice more deeply.

## CHAPTER THREE

# KILMARTIN'S CONCEPT OF THE TRINITARIAN MODEL OF AUTHENTIC SACRIFICE

### 3.0 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapters we discussed the concept of sacrifice in general, followed by Kilmartin's influences, chronological writings, and his fundamental theological beliefs. In this chapter we will discuss the key topic of this dissertation: Kilmartin's understanding of 'Eucharist as a sacrifice' and, primarily, his proposal of the 'Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice'. This chapter will examine three questions. Firstly, what drove Kilmartin to propose the idea of authentic sacrifice? Secondly, how did Kilmartin develop this idea, and what were the principles and working methods he applied? Finally, what are the possible interpretations of Kilmartin's theory of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice in line with the interpretation traced in his work? However, before delving into the answers to these questions, the questions themselves require some elaboration.

Because Kilmartin considered his theology a response to the "average Catholic theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice" and its implications, we shall begin this chapter by identifying and clarifying what he meant by 'average Catholic theology' and what elements and consequences of this theology he thought were detrimental to a proper understanding and experience of the Eucharist. In this way, it is possible to find fitting answers to our first question.

Kilmartin developed his own ideas on Eucharistic sacrifice using some historical, liturgical sources and theological theories (models) and principles. By studying these materials, we will be able to answer our second question.

Finally, we will attempt to reconstruct and present Kilmartin's own theology of Eucharistic sacrifice in a systematic way by offering a detailed analysis and interpretation of his definition of "the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice." In that way we will be able to respond to the third question posed.

### 3.1 KILMARTIN ON THE MODERN AVERAGE EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY

One of the reasons that drove Kilmartin to create his theology of authentic sacrifice is the dissatisfaction he felt regarding the theological views of the Eucharist generally held in and by the Western Church throughout many centuries. He labels this "the average theology of the Eucharist." It cannot be identified with one specific theologian or magisterial document, but it is rather a collection and articulation of a number of general theological views underlying common ecclesial practice and

teaching about the Eucharist. We will begin with giving a short presentation of this average theology.

### **3.1.1 A BRIEF PRESENTATION OF THE AVERAGE THEOLOGY OF THE EUCHARIST**

For Kilmartin, the most important idea in the average theology of the Eucharist is the objective representation of the historical sacrifice on the Cross in the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist.<sup>1</sup> He says, "in the average modern Catholic theological understanding, the idea of a sacramental representation (of the historical sacrifice) is popular."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, average theology hasn't completely overcome either the anthropological notion of sacrifice or the theological complications of the Reformation, post-Reformation, and this continued having an impact upon the theological debates on the sacrificial aspects as far as the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Kilmartin criticizes this average theology because it "lacks a systematic approach,"<sup>3</sup> is "based on weak biblical grounds,"<sup>4</sup> and has unhappy consequences for liturgy, ecclesiology and spirituality. If one takes the "objective representation" as the key idea of the average Catholic theology of the Eucharist, other elements such as emphasis on the Institution Narrative, neglect of communion rites, emphasis on ministerial priesthood, and neglect of Spirit and Trinity can be seen as related to that idea.

In the following we will deal with the origins, development, and survival of the average theology of sacrifice from the Council of Trent until the 20<sup>th</sup> century according to Kilmartin. Accordingly, we shall deal with three important issues that are closely connected with the historical origins and development of the average theology of sacrifice: 1) Average theology and its roots in the Council of Trent, which was concerned with refuting the critique of the Reformers upon late medieval theology, but thereby opened the door for problematic interpretations and misunderstandings of the Eucharist, Eucharistic sacrifice, and related issues; 2) The problematic aspects of average theology, which had their roots in a specific interpretation of the Council of Trent, were further developed in post-Tridentine theology and, hence, we will look at the interpretations offered by the post-Tridentine theologians; 3) In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Church documents, but also innovative theologians like Casel, remained tributary to average theology and its deadlocks. Kilmartin clearly thinks that some theologians, like Casel, corrected some of the misunderstandings or false presuppositions of the Eucharist that are present in this average theology, but they did not correct all misunderstandings.

After having sketched the development of average theology as it is presented by Kilmartin, we will mention some of the problematic implications for liturgy, ecclesiology, and spirituality that are, according to him, involved in this theology.

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<sup>1</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 368.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 367.

### 3.1.2 THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE AVERAGE THEOLOGY OF SACRIFICE

In chapter one, we gave an overview<sup>5</sup> of the teachings of Trent and of post-Tridentine theology on the Eucharist as a sacrifice. Here we will discuss how Kilmartin interprets and assesses these teachings, and how, according to him, some of these teachings lay at the basis of the development of an average theology of Eucharistic sacrifice that was further developed in the period after the Council.

#### 3.1.2.1 Kilmartin on Trent's Position

While dealing with the solutions sought by the Council of Trent, Kilmartin emphasizes that these were "not really motivated by systematic considerations."<sup>6</sup> The Council was "forced to take a stand on several important issues"<sup>7</sup> in spite of lacking a clear, synthetic overview. Rather, it was responding to the agenda dictated by the reformers, who made it difficult for the Council Fathers to speak in a coherent way about the Eucharist as a sacrifice.<sup>8</sup> This problem becomes manifest in particular in the discussions about two major issues: 1) the real presence and 2) the sacrificial character of the Eucharist or the nature of the sacrifice of the Mass.

The Council upheld the doctrine of transubstantiation, which states that "Christ is present under the Eucharistic species in a unique way,"<sup>9</sup> and asserted that it was apt to clarify the Real Presence."<sup>10</sup> At the same time the Council rejected the theory of consubstantiation and formulated the canon 2 (DH 1652)<sup>11</sup> to avoid the idea that a strict parallel exists between the unique hypostatic union of Logos and humanity and the Eucharistic incarnation.<sup>12</sup> This is because, according to consubstantiation, both the substance of bread and wine and the Body and Blood of Christ existed "side by side" (consubstantiation and not transubstantiation). This was apparently considered in

<sup>5</sup> See p. 30 & 32.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>7</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 12.

<sup>9</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," 235.

<sup>10</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 170-171.

<sup>11</sup> According to Schillebeeckx, the Council Fathers did not think that Canon 2 added anything new to Canon 1. Kilmartin objects to this view of Schillebeeckx and draws his attention to Albert Pighi of Utrecht (1490–1542) who defined Real Presence as God's activity. Kilmartin confirms that for those who stood by this concept, it was indeed a new concept at Trent. Cf. Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of the Eucharist - by Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P. Translated by N. D. Smith. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1968," *Theological Studies* 30, no. 2 (1969), 350. In other words, there were various theories that were available at the time of the Council. However, it seems that these theories were not given enough attention by some of the Council Fathers, probably, because they were focussed on rebutting Luther's claims and were firmly attached to following that line of thought.

<sup>12</sup> The debate about the existence of a 'strict parallel between historical Incarnation and Eucharistic Incarnation goes as early as to the works of the traditional Antiochene theology (4<sup>th</sup> century), which maintained only a *correspondence* between the two and not a *strict parallel*.' Cf. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 35. Kilmartin reports that the 5<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene theologians, however, in their attempt to defend the dogma of unity between the human and divine nature of Christ, brought into play a "more symbolic theology of eucharistic consecration" which "differed from the older and more realistic Antiochene tradition." This happened in their attempt to refute the "monophysitic Christology." The 4<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene theology, nevertheless, teaches a more realistic Eucharistic conversion. Cf. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 35-37 & 58.

analogy with the hypostatic union of Christ's divine and human nature. As both natures exist in the person of Christ, the substance of the Body or Blood of Christ and the substance of bread or wine exist side by side. The Council rejected the theory of consubstantiation and stated that the substances of bread and wine "changed" into the substances of the Body and Blood of Christ. According to Kilmartin, the Council seems to have adopted "the doctrinal position of High Scholasticism" on the subject of somatic real presence<sup>13</sup> – although the Council claims to have avoided implicating itself to any philosophical system since it claims to totally base itself on the Institution words of the Scripture.<sup>14</sup> Kilmartin thinks that in their attempt to affirm the Real Presence, the Council didn't take into account the "whole eucharistic event."<sup>15</sup>

Besides the issue of how to account for the Real Presence, Kilmartin believes the sacrificial character of the Eucharist is one of the most important points of debate between the Reformers and the Catholic Church of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup> Kilmartin has problems with the idea of the objective representation of the historical sacrifice of the Cross in the Eucharist (cf. DH 1740).<sup>17</sup> Kilmartin does not deny that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, but he is critical about the way it was worked out by the Council. The Council's standpoint on the sacrificial character also stimulates the idea of "repetition" of the Cross-event (against the reformers' idea of the "once and for all sacrifice") and, moreover, creates an obscured vision of the sacrificial character of the Last Supper event.

Instead of understanding the Eucharist as a place where the "reality of the Cross in the form of a sacramental memorial meal"<sup>18</sup> comes about, the Council Fathers narrowly interpreted it as a representation of the bloody sacrifice of the Cross, containing the unbloody immolation of Christ.<sup>19</sup> But, it is not clear what they meant by this, i.e., in what way the sacrifice of the Cross is represented to the believers or the believers are represented to the Cross. The Council Fathers were so focused upon rebutting Luther's denial of the visible sacrifice of the Eucharist that they failed to formulate an alternative satisfactory explanation. Kilmartin regrets that the Greek patristic idea of a "commemorative actual presence (image-prototype scheme) of the one sacrifice of the Cross" was ignored.<sup>20</sup>

The Fathers of Trent defined Mass as a *sacrificium visibile*.<sup>21</sup> Kilmartin says there is "no objective difficulty" in understanding this, but questions of what this visibility is arise. First of all, he says, "there is a visible manifestation of Christ's sacrifice" and, secondly, "there is present under the visible manifestation" the once and for all sacrifice of the Cross.<sup>22</sup> Kilmartin thinks the visibility of the sacrifice can be seen in

<sup>13</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 169-170.

<sup>14</sup> Kilmartin, "Lutheranism and Transubstantiation," 408.

<sup>15</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 170.

<sup>16</sup> Kilmartin, "Two Lutheran Opinions Concerning the Eucharistic Sacrifice," 45.

<sup>17</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 175.

<sup>18</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 11.

<sup>19</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 611.

<sup>20</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 172.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 175. Rahner believed that a proper explanation of the dogma of the Trent Fathers concerning the *sacrificium visibile* of the Eucharist must uphold that the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist is to be sought on the level of the visible sacramental action. Cf. Rahner and Häussling, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 18.

<sup>22</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 185.

the liturgical celebrations, under sacramental signs. "The sharing of bread and wine together with the institution narrative suffices" for the visible sacrifice of Christ.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, he is critical of the interpretation offered by the Church against Reformation arguments. In its explanation of *sacrificium visibile*, the Council worked precisely on the track of objective representation of the sacrifice of the Cross to the liturgical assembly, which is crucial to the evolution of the average theology of sacrifice. The Council's reason for a special emphasis on the objective sacramental representation of the Cross in the Mass is due to the Reformer's rejection of the "propitiatory" value of the Mass.<sup>24</sup> Taken together, the Council, in its explanation of *sacrificium visibile*, was contributing to the development of average theology. Unfortunately, at Trent, the possibilities of constructing a Christological dimension of the Eucharistic sacrifice from the perspective of "commemorative actual presence of the sacrifice of the cross was not available."<sup>25</sup>

For Kilmartin, a real distinction between the sacrifice of the Mass and the unique sacrifice of the Cross was not maintained by the Council.<sup>26</sup> This does not mean that Kilmartin denies that the Eucharist is a sacrifice. From the perspective of Christ's action, he says, "the Mass could be called a sacrifice,"<sup>27</sup> but, at the same time, "it does not repeat or renew the historical sacrifice of the Cross."<sup>28</sup> The Trent Fathers did not use the terms 'repetition' or 'renewal' in their teachings.<sup>29</sup> However, because the Council did not see a close inner connection between the sacramentality and the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, and because only an accidental connection between the two was assumed, Kilmartin thinks that the Council ended up viewing the Mass as "a kind of new sacrifice related to the Cross."<sup>30</sup> Also Kilmartin thinks that post-Tridentine theologians began to speak of the Eucharist as a "kind of repetition or renewal of the sacrifice of the Cross in the Mass."<sup>31</sup> Kilmartin is deliberately very careful in his use of terminologies such as representation, and rejects the idea of repetition.<sup>32</sup>

According to Kilmartin, the Fathers of Trent had misleading discussions about the sacrificial character of the Last Supper: "At Trent the chief debate among the Fathers and theologians did not concern the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, but the sacrificial character of the Last Supper" – which remained problematic and gave rise to long discussions,<sup>33</sup> and probably put the theologians on the wrong track. Is it a sacrifice or not? If it is a sacrifice, then the question arises: Is the Mass a sacrifice because it represents the (sacrifice of the) Last Supper, or because it represents the (sacrifice of the) Cross? Or, equally: Is it a sacrifice (presupposition) and can it

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 185.

<sup>24</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 611.

<sup>25</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 178.

<sup>26</sup> Kilmartin, "Two Lutheran Opinions Concerning the Eucharistic Sacrifice," 48.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>28</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 15.

<sup>29</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 201.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>31</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 12.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 10. Some authors, like the Anglo-Catholic theologian Eric L. Mascall, would say that although a literal sense of the term 'repetition' is ignored, yet it was used in "the extreme Catholic form," because Christ in some sense is killed once again. He says, "Catholic theologians have generally asserted that while the Eucharist is a repetition of Calvary, it is not a *literal* repetition." Cf. Eric L. Mascall, *Corpus Christi* (London/New York: Longmans Green, 1953), 83.

<sup>33</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 177.



therefore represent the sacrifice of the Cross? Some of the Fathers at Trent denied that the Last Supper was a sacrifice in the strict sense.<sup>34</sup> However, in the end, the Council viewed the Last Supper as a sacrifice from the perspective of what Christ did with the bread and wine. This perspective poses problems for Kilmartin. Drawing our attention to biblical roots, he interprets conditions that are necessary to understand Eucharist as a sacrifice. One of the conditions is that Eucharist must be understood as a sacrifice of the "Crucified Lord." The Eucharist is to be "anchored in the death of the Cross."<sup>35</sup> The Eucharist renders present in ritual form the offering of Christ made once for all on the Cross.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, Kilmartin hesitates to recognize the Last Supper as the "first Eucharistic celebration of the apostolic Church."<sup>37</sup> During the Council of Trent "more commonly it was held ... that the Last Supper was a true sacrifice ... [but] because a clarification on this point could not be achieved nothing was said about the propitiatory character of the Last Supper."<sup>38</sup>

Moreover, according to the Council, "[the] visible sacrifice representative and commemorative of the bloody sacrifice of the cross... was instituted by Christ at the Last Supper when He offered wine and commanded his Apostles and their successors in the priesthood to 'Do this in remembrance of me'."<sup>39</sup> This view of offering the Eucharist *only* by ministerial priests in line of the apostolic succession is implicitly again another contribution to the development of the average theology of sacrifice.

Canon One of the Decree on the Eucharistic Sacrifice stated that "a true and proper sacrifice is ... offered to God in the Mass."<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, Kilmartin points out, the Council gave no explanation as to how it arrived at this statement. The Council Fathers "supplied no clarification concerning what elements constitute the general notion of sacrifice, and wherein the Mass corresponds to this definition of sacrifice."<sup>41</sup> Kilmartin argues that the final outcome of the Council about the Eucharistic sacrifice was inconclusive, and therefore left room for further discussion and elaboration. In the post-Tridentine period, the teaching of Trent was more narrowly interpreted.

### 3.1.2.2 Kilmartin on Post-Tridentine Theology of the Eucharist

In the following we shall discuss how the average theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice further developed in the post-Tridentine period. The main points of critique are that post-Tridentine theologians 1) based themselves on a specific interpretation of the Council of Trent and remained tributary to a general concept of sacrifice; 2) asked wrong and misleading questions, for instance, asking what constituted the essential immolation during the Eucharist, which provoked wrong answers; 3) one-sidedly focused upon the sacrificial character of the Eucharist while neglecting the activity of the Holy Spirit; and 4) separated sacrifice from the meal aspect.

<sup>34</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 611-612.

<sup>35</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 6-7 & 10.

<sup>36</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 609.

<sup>37</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 6-7 & 10.

<sup>38</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 612.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 611.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Council of Trent, session 22, can. 1, DH 1751.

<sup>41</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 183.

On the whole, the Council, Kilmartin writes, by its authority, "limited the possibilities of creative theology."<sup>42</sup> Post-Tridentine theologians of the time did not succeed in instilling the idea that Christ Jesus had fulfilled the perfect sacrifice and that, consequently, his death has done away with the need for sacrifice in the "history-of-religions."<sup>43</sup> In other words, the phrase signifies that sacrifice is understood in the anthropological or pre-Christian concept, and which Kilmartin rejects.<sup>44</sup>

According to Kilmartin, the sacraments of the Church were narrowly interpreted during the post-Tridentine period,<sup>45</sup> and he claims that the poverty of the post-Tridentine concepts of liturgy is clearly spelled out by modern liturgical studies.<sup>46</sup> The points mentioned in the preceding paragraph led to theories that attempted to prove the sacramentality of the Eucharist by pointing to a "mystical mactation" or immolation – a virtual death – of Christ during the Eucharistic celebration.<sup>47</sup>

For many scholars of the post-Tridentine period who tried to discuss the concept of immolation, the main difficulty was how to define the aspect of the destruction of a victim, which was considered a crucial element of true sacrifice.<sup>48</sup> Just as in the pre-Christian general notion of sacrifice, in which some kind of immolation is considered a necessary element, the post-Tridentine theologians also tried to find in the Eucharist an immolation.<sup>49</sup> This led them to the question: What constitutes the essential unbloody immolation in the Eucharistic rite? It was a much debated question and a great number of theories were developed.<sup>50</sup> Kilmartin mentions some of these theories explicitly. He refers, for example, to the theory (of Gaspar de Casal 1510-1585) that the unbloody immolation is constituted by the separate consecration of the Eucharistic species, which signifies the separation of the body and blood of Christ in his death. Kilmartin also mentions another, related theory (of Leonardus Lessius 1154-1623), which claims that the immolation exists in the separate existence of Christ's body under the species of bread and of Christ's blood under the species of wine.<sup>51</sup> He also

<sup>42</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 62.

<sup>43</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 184.

<sup>44</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 244.

<sup>45</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 280. The most constitutive elements of the sacraments are everything that Jesus said and did during his earthly life, as well as his death, resurrection, ascension, and the sending of the Spirit. Cf. Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 6-7.

<sup>46</sup> Kilmartin, "The Achievement of Sacrosanctum Concilium," 565.

<sup>47</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 244.

<sup>48</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Ministry and the Content of the Christian Message (a Commentary on the General Catechetical Directory of 1971)," *The Living Light* 9, no. 3 (Fall) (1972), 63-75; Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Ministry of the Church," *Pace* December, (1972), 1-3; Kilmartin, "When Is Marriage a Sacrament?" 275-286.

<sup>49</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 184-186. Thomas Marsh and Daly suggest that post-Tridentine Eucharistic theology was focusing on the general notion of sacrifice and applied this to the Eucharist. Cf. Thomas Marsh, "Christ, the Church and the Eucharist," *The Furrow* 21, no. 2 (1970), 93. Daly, "Robert Bellarmine and Post-Tridentine Eucharistic Theology," 247.

<sup>50</sup> See p. 32 [1.2.4]. According to Trent Pomplun, both Kilmartin and Daly offer a biased interpretation of post-Tridentine Eucharistic theology, overemphasizing the idea of the destruction of the victim in its theories of the Eucharistic sacrifice. See Pomplun, "Post-Tridentine Sacramental Theology," 348-361, 352-358. Pomplun writes: "Whether they realize it or not, Kilmartin and Daly unwittingly find themselves at the end of a long line of Protestant critics of late medieval and post-Tridentine eucharistic theology."

<sup>51</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 613-614. Kilmartin also mentions a third theory (of De Lugo) that thinks that the consecration of the bread by itself suffices for there to be an immolation and (Hessel's) theory that the Eucharist represents Christ's eternal sacrifice to the Father in heaven.

refers to the rather extreme theory of Bellarmine who attributed the immolation to the consummation of the body and blood by the priest. Kilmartin notes rather ironically that Bellarmine was very close to the NT understanding that "sacrifice and the meal cannot be separated."<sup>52</sup>

Kilmartin is very critical of all these theories that presuppose the application of a general concept of sacrifice – which he also calls the "history-of-religions" sense of sacrifice, and which we also recognize in the anthropological views of sacrifice – with its focus on real immolation of a victim, to the Eucharistic sacrifice.<sup>53</sup> He is critical of those looking for some kind of immolation in the Church's sacrifice of the Eucharist. Kilmartin thinks that it is something that is against the spirit of Christianity and it leads to a fundamental distortion of the true, Christian meaning of sacrifice. Daly echoes Kilmartin's position when he writes that wrong questions lead to wrong answers and that theologians in the 16<sup>th</sup> century began their analysis of the concept of sacrifice by asking the wrong questions.<sup>54</sup>

The idea that Christ's saving acts took place in the historical past in Calvary and that the Church only recalls these acts and so engages in them was ignored both in the Tridentine and post-Tridentine period. The explanations provided by Scotus in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and Biel in the 15<sup>th</sup> century who stressed the Church as the "proximate" or immediate offerer of the Mass and not Christ, were no longer dominant after Trent.<sup>55</sup>

Kilmartin understands sacrifice from a spiritual perspective.<sup>56</sup> This will be dealt with more in the next section on methods.<sup>57</sup> For him, making the real (historical) death of Jesus present in the Eucharist in a mysterious way must be excluded because through "His resurrection and ascension, Christ is in the state of glory and dies no more, not even virtually." But He who suffered the physical death is Himself surely present.<sup>58</sup> This will become clearer when we later deal with the Trinitarian concept of sacrifice.<sup>59</sup> According to Kilmartin, the problem with the immolation theories is that immolation is an essential part of any sacrifice and, hence, focus too much on the historical death of Jesus being objectively represented in the Eucharistic celebration. He concludes by saying that the post-Tridentine theology "failed to offer a solution to the problem of the intimate relation" between Christ's somatic presence in the Eucharist and the historical sacrifice.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 185.

<sup>53</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 184.

<sup>54</sup> Robert J. Daly, "Sacrifice Unveiled or Sacrifice Revisited: Trinitarian and Liturgical Perspectives," *Theological Studies* 63, no. 1 (2003), 25-26.

<sup>55</sup> Kilmartin, "The One Fruit or the Many Fruits of the Mass," 50-51, 55-56. Also cf. Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 405-406.

<sup>56</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 241.

<sup>57</sup> See p. 149.

<sup>58</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 15.

<sup>59</sup> Some contemporary thinkers seem to share Kilmartin's criticism on the idea that sacrifice entails immolation. For instance, Henninger thinks that the destruction of a victim is no longer an essential element of sacrifice. Cf. Joseph Henninger, "Sacrifice" in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 546.

<sup>60</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 186-187.

Another characteristic of post-Tridentine Eucharistic theology that found its way into average theology is the idea that the symbolic actions of Jesus at the Last Supper were a sacrifice but that theologians ignored the intrinsic connection between this sacrifice and the meal aspect. The theological debate was completely focused on the sacrifice of the Cross in the Eucharist.<sup>61</sup> A sacrifice that is narrowed down to immolation and oblation and sees the meal aspect only as an "irrelevant sequel" is against the biblical perspective of sacrifice in which there is no separation of sacrifice from the meal aspect.<sup>62</sup> From the biblical roots, it is clear that Jesus offered the bread and wine as his body and blood in a meal situation. While the Eucharist signifies the redemptive work of Christ, his offering of Himself to the Father and to the world at the Last Supper, it also signifies a table fellowship.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately, limiting the sacrificial act to the sacramental, visible, unbloody representation in the bread and wine of the bloody immolation of the Cross "makes the meal aspect an appendage even it is called a 'sacrificial meal'."<sup>64</sup>

Moreover, other problematic tendencies are that after the Council of Trent, Catholic debates continued on the Real Presence and on how the bread and wine become body and blood. While the Eastern tradition gave the central role to the proper work of the Holy Spirit for the conversion, it was common in the Western tradition to explain the change as emanating from the efficient causality, which belongs to the one divine essence.<sup>65</sup> Kilmartin makes a general distinction between the Western/Catholic position and the Eastern, seeing as a common characteristic in all the different Western/Catholic views, the disregard of the role of the Holy Spirit. Kilmartin seems to think that is also characteristic of the average theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice.

These were some of the major trends in the development of post-Tridentine Eucharistic theology. Even if they are not directly implied in the decrees of the Council, Trent at least paved the way for these developments. We can conclude that the theological limitations of Trent's position, i.e., the Council's lack of explanation of the Eucharist as sacrifice, and the specific route taken by post-Tridentine theology, became the catalyst for Kilmartin to propose his theory of authentic sacrifice of the Eucharist.

### 3.1.2.3 Traces of Average theology in the Church Documents

From the presentation above it becomes clear that several problematic ideas, which had their roots in a specific interpretation of the Council of Trent, were further developed in post-Tridentine theology, and were part of average theology. These views survived also in the Church documents of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and thereby contributed to the continued growth of average theology. Kilmartin believes that this is the case with a number of magisterial documents, which intended to prove and explain the sacrificial character of the Mass. One of the most important of such documents is the encyclical *Mediator Dei* of Pius XII (1947).

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<sup>61</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 437.

<sup>62</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 199.

<sup>63</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 7 & 10.

<sup>64</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 9.

<sup>65</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 179-181.

Kilmartin believes *Mediator Dei* rejects an explanation of the concept of immolation in the Mass that is equivalent to the historical immolation of the Cross. Kilmartin says, "Pius XII avoids theories which postulate a virtual destruction of Christ, such as those of Bellarmine." Instead, the Pope adopts the concept of "sacramental sacrifice,"<sup>66</sup> developed by Vonier and Casel.<sup>67</sup> According to *Mediator Dei*, Kilmartin thinks "Christ ... is sacramentally immolated at the consecration of the bread and wine." In this context, 'sacramental' refers to "the peculiar mode of sacramental being, whereby the reality signified has its proper mode of existence elsewhere, but is truly contained in its symbolic representation."<sup>68</sup> It seems that Kilmartin considers the notion of sacramental sacrifice an improvement compared to the post-Tridentine theologies as exemplified by Bellarmine, but he thinks it runs into philosophical problems<sup>69</sup> and with its emphasis on immolation, remains within the conceptual framework of average theology.<sup>70</sup>

Also, according to him, the mode of presence of the mysteries of Christ in *MD* is narrowly interpreted. It concentrates on the presence of their effects in the believers, that is on the effects of grace in the spiritual life of the faithful. As a result, these effects make the believer become an example and instrumental cause of Christ's presence. However, it lessens the mode of presence of Christ's life in the liturgy and its effects in the symbolic rites. The fact that these mysteries are present in the symbolic gestures of the liturgical rites and through which the grace is obtained is not sufficiently taken into consideration. Implicitly, the presence of Christ in the sacramental activities of the Church as a whole seems to have been not clearly interpreted.<sup>71</sup>

Moreover, Kilmartin also points to the problematic views we have in the theology of ministry. He thinks that the terms used in *MD* regarding ministerial authority have not been dealt with in depth, in particular in the formulation that a priest alone acts as representative of Christ, the Head.<sup>72</sup> According to the document, the ministerial authority is "not a delegation from the people."<sup>73</sup> Pointing out the distinction between the institutional and personal role of the priest, Kilmartin suggests the encyclical shows a biased emphasis on the institutional aspect, by which Jesus becomes the principal agent, the Head of the Church, and does not do enough to "imply the theory that the institutional role of the priest is able to draw the prayerful intention of Christians throughout the world into direct participation in the celebration." He writes that *MD* ignores this implication, and sees the same inattention reflected in the "modern encyclicals" which state that the priest by pronouncing the words of

<sup>66</sup> For Vonier's description see p. 37; for Casel's see p. 41.

<sup>67</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 420-426.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 425.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 425-426.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 420, 438.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 421-422. Kilmartin suggests that this neglect has to do with a covert criticism of Casel's view on the presence of Christ's historical acts in the liturgy.

<sup>72</sup> Kilmartin refers to the following passages of *MD*, numbers. 92 & 93: people offering the sacrifice of the Mass "through the hands of the priest"; no. 142: divine office recited by priests who are deputed by the Church in the name of all Christians. Cf. Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 307. For other explicit passages cf. *MD*, numbers: 40, 83 & 84.

<sup>73</sup> Kilmartin, "Bishop and Presbyter as Representatives of Christ and the Church," cf. footnote 41 in the same article.

Institution effectuates the unbloody ritual immolation all by himself and, hence, he alone acts as the representative of Christ, the Head.<sup>74</sup>

Moreover, the sacred liturgy is defined "only in terms of the anabatic aspect" which Kilmartin terms as a "narrow outlook." From this aspect every liturgical celebration, including every sacramental formula, symbolic rituals signify the "upward movement of worship of God," i.e., from creature to Creator, marginalizing the downward, *katabatic* movement by which believers are made partakers and by which the earthly elements of bread and wine become body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist.<sup>75</sup> Although, the dialogical character of liturgy is not completely absent, Kilmartin thinks that it is "only marginally treated."<sup>76</sup>

Kilmartin sees the influence of *MD* in many other Church documents that followed. What astonishes Kilmartin is the repetition of the concepts that are, in his view, problematic in various Church documents, such as John Paul II's *Dominicae Cenae*,<sup>77</sup> where he points out that the Pope is limiting himself "to the typical scholastic approach to the theology of the Eucharist,"<sup>78</sup> which puts emphasis on the priest acting on his own in the person of Christ.<sup>79</sup> The emphasis should be on the work of the Holy Spirit and its effects in us but this is missing in the document.<sup>80</sup> Kilmartin considers that *DC* tends towards two Tridentine thoughts as regards 1) the separation of sacrifice and meal and 2) the 'renewal' of sacrifice of the Cross in the Mass, which he interprets as a terminological variant of Trent's 'representation'.<sup>81</sup> In addition, basing himself on the post-Tridentine theology, the Pope's letter emphasizes the ministerial power of priesthood to consecrate the Eucharistic species. Furthermore, the Pope is also concerned about the Institution of the Eucharist in the Last Supper. He describes the founding of the Church in terms of what Christ did at the Last Supper without alluding to the problems that were discussed at Trent faced about the sacrificial character of the Last Supper.

In brief, what is essential is that *DC* has a basically Tridentine approach, which has its roots in scholastic theology and is mixed with some post-Tridentine tendencies. The

<sup>74</sup> Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," 247.

<sup>75</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 305-306.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 308.

<sup>77</sup> John Paul II, Apostolic Letter, *Dominicae Cenae: Letter of the Supreme Pontiff to All the Bishop of the Church on the Mystery and Worship of the Eucharist* (24 February 1980): AAS72 113-148. Other documents he cites are for instance, Pius XII, "Mystici Corporis"; Paul VI, "Mysterium Fidei," *AAS* 57 (1965), and Vatican II, "Lumen Gentium," no. 10. Cf. Kilmartin, "Bishop and Presbyter as Representatives of Christ and the Church."

<sup>78</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 197.

<sup>79</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 196-197.

<sup>80</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 197.

<sup>81</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 12-13. Kilmartin is very much against employing terms like 'renewal' and 'repetition'. But in this context, he associates 'renewal' with post-Tridentine theology (including a real maturation of the victim). In this way, he can exonerate the Pope from the charge of endorsing a non-traditional view. Kilmartin writes that the Pope means by 'renewed' the same as Trent with the term 'represent': the Mass represents the sacrifice on the Cross, Trent states. As already mentioned Kilmartin sees ambiguity in Trent's use of the term 'representation'. He would rather prefer traditional Trinitarian terminologies which explains sacrifice from a 'spiritual' point of view as proposed in the writings of the early Church Fathers (Greek/Latin) and focus on the aspect of 'recalling' for the sacrifice of Golgotha. Moreover, as early as 1971, we can see the seeds of the idea of 'recalling' in memory the sacrifice of the Cross in Kilmartin's works. Cf. Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology," 246.

Mass is basically seen as an objective representation of the sacrifice of the Cross. Further, as already pointed out, from this perspective followed also the separation of sacrificial action and sacrificial meal, and the emphasis upon the ministerial power of the priest.

Kilmartin also seems to be disappointed with some documents of Vatican II. He acknowledges that *Lumen Gentium* does not “preclude the appointment of laity, by way of exception, to some pastoral ministries traditionally reserved to those in Holy Orders.”<sup>82</sup> However, he thinks that the Council did not develop a theology of the laity, necessary for the basis for such appointments. Whereas the ministry of the priests is based in sacramental ordination, the ministry of the laity continues to remain isolated from the apostolate of the hierarchy. The gap between the ordained ministers and the laity is so great that it does not do justice to a community based Eucharistic theology. With this line of thinking, Kilmartin is challenging the magisterial teachings of the Church or at least pointing out tensions within the magisterial teaching, i.e., between *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (which emphasizes that the Eucharist is community based) and documents that stress ministerial priesthood. Kilmartin completely agrees with SC and its principles (the achievement) but seems to regret that the original version of Ch. 7 – which proceeded from Christ’s abiding presence in the liturgical community – was rejected.<sup>83</sup>

Kilmartin believes that in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, few theologians tried to rebut the issues connected with the average Catholic theology of the Eucharist. Kilmartin was convinced that Casel was one of the few Catholic theologians who rebutted this but he nonetheless believes that, in some respects, he did not offer a fully convincing alternative to average theology.

#### 3.1.2.4 Kilmartin on Casel’s Theology

We have already reviewed Casel’s position in the preceding chapter.<sup>84</sup> Here we briefly revisit his views so as to determine on what specific points Kilmartin criticizes Casel. Casel tried to affirm that God, and thus the historical acts of Jesus, are made present in the liturgy.<sup>85</sup> Casel writes that participants become sharers not only in God’s presence but also in the historical saving acts of Christ. The Church, he says, shares in Christ in “a feminine receptive way.”<sup>86</sup> To show how the historical acts of Christ are present in the Eucharist, Casel focused on the external actions, the symbols of the Church’s liturgy, suggesting that the external rites used in the liturgy are, in fact, the way in which we re-actualize the paschal mystery. This means that underneath the external rites must lie the invisible reality of the historical events of the paschal mystery. These underlying realities must somehow be present in a substantial way. Casel wrote that “in [the Mass] the consecration of the elements by God’s deed, which the priest performs in God’s power again sets out the sacrificing death of the Lord in *mysterium*. Christ, therefore, offers Himself in a sacramental

<sup>82</sup> Kilmartin, “Lay Participation in the Apostolate of the Hierarchy,” 343.

<sup>83</sup> Kilmartin, “Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ,” 253.

<sup>84</sup> See p. 39.

<sup>85</sup> Kilmartin, “The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology,” 407.

<sup>86</sup> Odo Casel, *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, 21.

manner.”<sup>87</sup> Christ Himself, the mystery, is present in the liturgy. For Casel, the liturgy had the ability to “image” the saving acts of Christ, thus allowing believers to become sharers of it by their participation in the liturgy. Moreover, because “God’s majesty and action ... is hidden beneath symbols” used in the liturgy, Casel said the historical acts can be revealed in the symbolic gestures used in the liturgical celebrations.<sup>88</sup> Through the rituals of liturgy, God expresses Himself in symbols.

Kilmartin explains what Casel meant by “image.” According to him, Casel used the term “image” in a “patristic sense, where ‘image’ conveys the idea of participation in the reality signified, or more precisely, the epiphany of the quintessence of the thing represented.”<sup>89</sup> Casel affirmed that God is present in the liturgy through Christ and his saving historical acts. From Casel’s description, we can identify at least two issues with which Kilmartin would disagree: 1) if Christ, the Mystery, and his saving acts including the historical death on the Cross are represented in the liturgy, then it presupposes the sacramental representation of the Sacrifice of the Cross, which Kilmartin thinks is a basic problematical idea in average theology. 2) Casel made it clear that in the liturgy, God gives Himself to the believers through Christ, the Mystery. But Casel did not explain the point from the other perspective which was very important for Kilmartin, i.e., how the believing community comes to share in the mystery of God. This was one of the concerns behind Kilmartin’s study on Casel’s *Mysteriengegenwart* theology. Casel explained how God presents Himself to humans, in other words, how He unites Himself to human beings. But, for Kilmartin, this is not enough because Casel did not highlight the fact that humans also have a means, a channel, by which to encounter God. For Kilmartin, Casel, in his interpretation, has established a “weak link” between the liturgical expressions of faith and mystery presence.<sup>90</sup> Hall summarizes Kilmartin’s analysis of Casel in the following way: Casel and his interlocutors do not “clearly situate the sacrifice of the Cross in its Trinitarian self-communication” and formulated the question of mystery presence incorrectly. Kilmartin believed that “rather than asking about the liturgical presence of the mystery of the economic Trinity revealed in Christ and his saving acts, they [Casel c.s] inquired only about the mystery presence of Christ and his saving acts.”<sup>91</sup>

Kilmartin has no problem accepting Casel’s view on God’s encounter with human beings; Kilmartin is even appreciative of Casel’s proposals. Kilmartin says “his [Casel’s] stress on the cultic character of the sacraments, as well as their ecclesial dimension, are important contributions.”<sup>92</sup> Moreover, Casel is for Kilmartin a “most outstanding figure” who has recovered the traditional teachings of the Greek Fathers which “serves as the source of the renewal of sacramental theology.”<sup>93</sup> That said, Kilmartin points to the main shortcomings of Casel. Because Casel is “not a systematician,” at times, “his theology lacks consistency,”<sup>94</sup> which presents a

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>89</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 270.

<sup>90</sup> Kilmartin, “Theology of the Sacraments,” 132.

<sup>91</sup> Hall, *We Have the Mind of Christ*, 151-152.

<sup>92</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 277.

<sup>93</sup> Kilmartin, “Review of Sacraments: The Gestures of Christ, by D.O’callaghan, (New York, 1964),” 285.

<sup>94</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 272.



weakness in his position.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, he works out his interpretation of the mystery more from the patristic view of image. For Kilmartin, a more accurate way to work out the mystery presence is: 1) from a Trinitarian perspective and 2) involving the work of the Holy Spirit. While authors such as Kevin Irwin propose the *anamnesis* as the connecting link for a revived theology of the Eucharist in the West,<sup>96</sup> for Kilmartin, the answer is pneumatology, liturgically articulated in the *epiclesis*, the invocation of the Spirit. Jesus Christ, Kilmartin states, "works through the power of the Spirit to effect his sacramental presence."<sup>97</sup> According to Kilmartin, Casel remained, in spite of everything, tributary to and dependent on average theology. Kilmartin prefers Giraud's proposal, according to which "the believing community repeatedly enters into the presence of the person of Christ and his saving work in the medium of the ritual cultic activity."<sup>98</sup>

### 3.1.2.5 CONCLUSION

We have been going through Kilmartin's account of the modern average Eucharistic theology. Kilmartin lays the blame for average theology on the post-Tridentine interpretation of the objective representation of the Cross in the Eucharist. The influence of the average theology of the Eucharist is also visible in the modern-day interpretations especially in the official Church documents. While theologians like Casel tried to rebut these problematic issues of the Eucharistic theology, his theology was limited to explaining the saving acts of Jesus in the liturgy.

## 3.2 PROBLEMATIC IMPLICATIONS OF MODERN AVERAGE CATHOLIC THEOLOGY

In the preceding part we have already touched upon some of the problematic implications of average theology according to Kilmartin. Here we will enumerate them and further clarify why they are problematic according to Kilmartin. As stated in his works, the understanding of the average theology of the Eucharist brings with it many complications liturgically, pastorally, ecclesiological, and theologically.

### 3.2.1 LITURGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Average theology – based on the emphasis on the objective representation of the sacrifice of the Cross in the Mass – has liturgical implications especially because the emphasis is only on the moment of consecration. It affects, at a root level, how a community determines itself as a Eucharistic people. Once the emphasis is put on the Institution Narrative and the consecration by the ordained priest, the significance of

<sup>95</sup> David Power indicates the controversies surrounding Casel's approach to recovering the saving acts of Christ in the Eucharist through *anamnesis* in his article. Cf. David N. Power, "Roman Catholic Theologies of Eucharistic Communion: A Contribution to Ecumenical Conversation," *Theological Studies* 57, no. 4 (1996), 589.

<sup>96</sup> Kevin W. Irwin, *Models of the Eucharist* (New York: Paulist, 2005), 132.

<sup>97</sup> Kilmartin, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit," 228.

<sup>98</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 451.

communion by the faithful as the possible key element of the Eucharistic action declines. That is to say, when the focus is on citing the words of the Institution Narrative alone, then what the priest is doing may be regarded as happening in isolation from the community present. In line with this, if the consecration or the Institutional Narrative is stressed too much, then the meal character of the Eucharist, the communion (by the community) will be diminished in the liturgical celebration and become subordinate to the sacrificial character. Separating the function of the EPs from that of the action of the participants and thereby disintegrating the unity of the whole liturgical celebration, will have negative effects on the community.<sup>99</sup> If the liturgy is only about the Institution Narrative and the role of ordained priests, Kilmartin asks, how then can the liturgy truly become a place of encounter between God and his people? Scholars before Kilmartin, especially those belonging to the Liturgical Movement argued that liturgy is something that belongs both to the priests as well as the people. It is important, Kilmartin emphasizes, to "rediscover" and at the same time "renew" the understanding of liturgical practices.<sup>100</sup> That is what the Vatican document SC at least did, according to Kilmartin.

### 3.2.2 PASTORAL AND ECCLESIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

The emphasis on the Institution Narrative and consecration also has profound implications on the pastoral and ecclesiological life of the Church. The average theology of the Eucharist has created a tendency to see participants as related to Christ only through the priest who directly represents Christ and indirectly the Church. This suggests that the authenticity of the sacrifice comes only through the priest and not through the believers. If that is the case, then the sacrifice made by the individual believer remains marginalized because he or she is part of the celebration only through the intercession of a priest. Kilmartin argues against this concept, saying that the individual believer's sacrifice has its own effects, and its own proper place within the celebration of the Eucharist. However, the authenticity of the individual sacrifice must still be seen through the medium of the person Jesus and his sacrifice, mediated through the Eucharist. As hitherto explained, for Kilmartin, the understanding of the current model of priesthood required re-thinking.

Kilmartin argues that the impression which is given, i.e., that the participants are connected with Christ only through the priest who represents Christ, the Head of the Church, an idea which, he thinks, goes back to the later Thomistic School, poses difficulties particularly with regards to the perception of Church and the assembly.<sup>101</sup> Kilmartin's basic concern is the inadequacy of *ex opere operato* – the axiom of liturgical sacramental celebration – which he challenges.<sup>102</sup> This principle only risks reducing the Eucharist merely to a static object. This axiom is understood as a working from above, where human subjectivity does not enter into the picture at all. So, when this axiom is applied to liturgical celebration, it ignores the pastoral as well as the ecclesial context of liturgical worship. In other words, in such a liturgical celebration, the axiom presumes an active clergy and an inactive laity. Thus,

<sup>99</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 365. We will enumerate on the perspective of meal pattern and communion while dealing with the EPs.

<sup>100</sup> Bouyer, *Life and Liturgy*, 39.

<sup>101</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 413.

<sup>102</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 234.

Kilmartin questions the traditional scholastic idea of the priest as the direct representative of Christ.<sup>103</sup>

According to Kilmartin the post-Tridentine juridical use of the *ex opere operato* principle minimizes the human, ecclesial activity in the sacramental celebrations. Therefore, he looks for other alternatives to account for efficacy of the sacraments. He emphasizes the importance of the actions of the Church through its ministry. Kilmartin says, "though the sacraments are efficacious independently of the meritorious actions of the minister or subject, this does not mean that they are totally independent of the human activity of the one who confers or receives the sacrament."<sup>104</sup> For instance, in baptism and in the sacrament of reconciliation, pronouncing the words like, "I baptize you...", "I absolve you..." are important, since they are made in the intention of the Church: "It is a prayer of the Church made in union with Christ in the power of the Spirit."<sup>105</sup> Kilmartin thinks that the ecclesiological and pneumatological basis of the *ex opere operato* started to disappear in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, when some theologians began to hold the view that "the Mass is a work of the office of priest ... *ex opere operato*, i.e., independently of the merits of the priest and in isolation from the work of Christ and the Church."<sup>106</sup> He reminds us that in all the sacraments, it is the Spirit's activity that gives "a theological basis for a more satisfactory explanation of the traditional teaching that the sacraments confer grace, *ex opere operato*."<sup>107</sup> He also underscores the specific dispositions required of the recipients.<sup>108</sup> As already seen, depending on one's disposition, a share in the divine life of God is guaranteed.<sup>109</sup> This is why Kilmartin asserted that "without the exercise of the faith no sacramental presence of Christ or the *passio* Christi is possible."<sup>110</sup> Applying this to the "fruits of the Mass," it is not the case that a priest can distribute the fruits of the Mass because he is an "*alter Christus*." He can do it through the Church in its faith. At the same time, Kilmartin thinks that the devotion of the participating assembly (earthly Church) is necessary for one to receive the fruits of the Mass.<sup>111</sup>

Moreover, Kilmartin sees that the language associated with the scholastic approach to priesthood conveys the idea that the priest "actually participates ontologically"<sup>112</sup> in the personal, incommunicable priesthood of the man Jesus.<sup>113</sup> Kilmartin considers this view too as problematic. We shall deal with this at a later stage.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ." In this article, Kilmartin is very critical of *Lumen Gentium*, *Mediator Dei* and some of the later papal encyclicals in their explanation of the priest's representation of Christ and Church, cf. 247-249.

<sup>104</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacraments: Signs of Christ, Sanctifier and High Priest*, 21.

<sup>105</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 174.

<sup>106</sup> Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," 246. cf. note 23.

<sup>107</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 231.

<sup>108</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacraments: Signs of Christ, Sanctifier and High Priest*, 21. Also cf. Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 246.

<sup>109</sup> See p. 97.

<sup>110</sup> Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," 255.

<sup>111</sup> Kilmartin, "The One Fruit or the Many Fruits of the Mass," 40.

<sup>112</sup> This is one of the important terms that Kilmartin uses repeatedly in his theology of sacrifice. We shall touch on this term when we discuss the faith of Jesus.

<sup>113</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 531.

<sup>114</sup> See p. 199.

Kilmartin seeks instead to found a theology where the assembly, being part of the Church, can directly share in the salvific acts of Christ, who would in return make their sacrifice as authentic as Christ's own and where the liturgy of the Eucharist is preserved as a whole, including the communion.<sup>115</sup> Kilmartin attempts to apply a different model than that of the priest acting *in persona Christi* in the Eucharist.<sup>116</sup> He prefers, as we shall see later in more detail,<sup>117</sup> the idea that the priest acts *in persona Christi per Spiritum*, since he participates in the Spirit of the priesthood of Christ.

### 3.2.3 SYSTEMATIC & ECUMENICAL IMPLICATIONS

The average theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice also has negative implications for systematic theology and for doctrinal disagreements between the Christian churches. In particular, Kilmartin is concerned with the relationship between the theologies of the churches of the West and East, especially with regards to pneumatology, in relation to the Eucharistic presence of Christ in the Eucharist: Is Christ/Logos or the Spirit the source of Christ's presence? According to Kilmartin, the Western theology of the Eucharist had lost track of the Eastern Patristic synthesis of the sacrificial act of Christ, his passion and death on the Cross. In the wider theological context, from around the 1950s in particular, Eastern theologians like Vladimir Nikolayevich Lossky (1903-1958) had begun to blame Western theology for the "oblivion of the Spirit."<sup>118</sup> In fact, the Eastern Patristic synthesis had retained sufficient resources to formulate a theology of Eucharistic presence different from the one in the West.<sup>119</sup> Kilmartin emphasizes the value and the importance of the pneumatological explanation of the Eucharistic presence. On this, Kilmartin and J.M. Tillard are in step.<sup>120</sup> For Kilmartin, the Spirit has a mission in the Church and in its sacraments. The Spirit is sent not only to consecrate the Eucharistic species [West] but also to consecrate the assembly of the Church together with the sacramental species [East]. Kilmartin believes that, unfortunately, "even today the pneumatological element is still poorly integrated in modern Catholic theology of the Sacraments."<sup>121</sup>

Finally, average theology also creates further problems to ecumenical dialogue when it identifies exclusively with one specific tradition, in particular traditional scholastic theology, and not taking seriously the much broader and richer variety of Christian traditions and their perspectives.<sup>122</sup> Hence, average theology, with its one-sided

<sup>115</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 405.

<sup>116</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 3-12.

<sup>117</sup> See p. 199.

<sup>118</sup> For views on Lossky, cf. John H. Erickson and Thomas E. Bird, eds. *In the Image and Likeness of God* (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985), especially the 4<sup>th</sup> chapter: "The Procession of the Holy Spirit in Orthodox Trinitarian Doctrine."

<sup>119</sup> The Churches of the East have always acknowledged the importance of the function of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist, even to the point of proposing that the *epiclesis* - the invocation of the Holy Spirit - is the "summit of the Eucharistic celebration." The orthodox theologian Alexander Schmemmann has argued for this. He says the celebration of the Eucharist "is entirely, from beginning to end, an *epiklesis*, an invocation of the Holy Spirit who transfigures everything done in it, each solemn rite, into that which manifests and reveals to us." Cf. Alexander Schmemmann, *The Eucharist: Sacrament of the Kingdom*, trans. Paul Kachur (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1988), 213 & 222.

<sup>120</sup> See p. 202.

<sup>121</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 90.

<sup>122</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 361-363.

emphasis on ordained ministry, deepens the ecumenical problems. Average theology needs to be reconsidered, according to Kilmartin.

### 3.2.4 CONCLUSION

So far, we have been reviewing Kilmartin's views on the average Catholic theology of Eucharistic sacrifice and its negative consequences. On the basis of this review, we can answer the first question raised in this chapter: What drives Kilmartin to formulate his own theology of authentic sacrifice? According to Kilmartin, against a backdrop of the Reformation idea of the Eucharist as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving only, the Catholic Church, through the Council of Trent, proclaimed the Eucharist as an expiatory sacrifice and a representation of Calvary – but not a repetition of it – without providing sufficient explanation for this stance. Kilmartin believes that these theological challenges were not adequately met by post-Tridentine theologians, and that these challenges continue even to the present day.

In the next section we shall discuss how Kilmartin tried to solve these problems and what methods and sources he used to do so.

## 3.3 PRINCIPLES OF THE THEOLOGY OF AUTHENTIC SACRIFICE

Kilmartin wants to offer an alternative for the average theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice. In this section we attempt to answer the second question raised at the beginning of this chapter: How does Kilmartin develop his theology? As previously mentioned, Kilmartin was a prodigious researcher, reviewer, and thinker. His theology developed through ongoing study of the Scripture, of the writings of both the Latin and Greek Church Fathers and liturgical texts from the patristic period, the scholastic theology of Aquinas, and Trent and post-Tridentine theology. He scrutinized the works of scholars such as Vonier, Casel, and various modern-day scholars like Rahner, Giraud, and Coffey, drawing from them the necessary ingredients to formulate his own theology of authentic sacrifice. While his earlier works reveal somewhat less of a focus on this subject, he did have an early view of the Eucharist as a sacrifice in mind, which he gradually developed and articulated more precisely over the course of his lifetime.

### 3.3.1 THE ANSWERING THEOLOGY

In his early writings, Kilmartin was already clearly aware of some of the problematic issues related to the Eucharist and the average Catholic theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice, which we have previously discussed. As time went on, his writings reflected his attempts to answer questions that he believed needed further examination and explanation, and in his attempt to propose a theology of *authentic sacrifice* he reassessed issues related to Eucharistic theology, priesthood, pneumatology, and ecclesiology. He terms his theology “the theology of authentic sacrifice,” which is opposed to an approach which he considered less authentic, in particular to what he calls “the average theology of the Eucharist.” Kilmartin felt the need to respond to the

problems he thinks are implied by this average theology. In this way, we could rightly call his proposal an “answering theology.” In doing so, Kilmartin is not responding to the Reformers – although he does so indirectly – but to the average Catholic theology, which itself was mainly developed in reaction to the Reformers.

### 3.3.2 KILMARTIN’S ROADMAP

This investigation will make clear the road map Kilmartin used and the sources he used to find an alternative for average theology. Accordingly, we shall in detail answer the questions: Which principles and working methods does Kilmartin apply for developing this theology? And where did he look for inspiration? Kilmartin’s road map is based mainly on four principles: 1) Doing “liturgical theology.” In average theology, the *lex orandi* has been dominated by the *lex credendi*. To correct this tendency, the *lex credendi* has to be reintegrated into the *lex orandi*. 2) History. Kilmartin is convinced that over the course of centuries especially Western Christianity had lost the sense of what authentic sacrifice means. The ideas about sacraments, liturgy, sacrifice, etc. in the West have been distorted over the course of time. This means “ressourcement” is needed, i.e., going back to the sources, that is, to Scripture and the patristic period especially the early Christian liturgical texts and patristic writers from East and West. 3) Replacing the notion of natural sacrifice. One of the pitfalls of the average theology of Eucharistic sacrifice is that it took a natural concept of sacrifice, based upon the idea of immolation as its starting point. 4) Trinitarian theology, which he refines in his later works with the help of Coffey’s bestowal model.

#### 3.3.2.1 INTEGRATION OF *LEX ORANDI* AND *LEX CREDENDI*: LITURGICAL THEOLOGY

According to Kilmartin, the primary way we understand God’s self-gift in Christ is through the Church’s liturgical action. Liturgical celebration “enables more active, fully conscious participation.”<sup>123</sup> Kilmartin stresses that liturgy not only establishes and maintains “Christian identity” but also unifies the believers together. Losing the importance of liturgy expressed in symbolic languages and gestures in the life of faith can seriously affect the meaning of Christian faith. Therefore, the importance of liturgical studies must be stressed as “a matter of highest priority” to better understand the practise of communal worship and the essence of Christian faith.<sup>124</sup> Kilmartin says:

A theology of liturgy merely attempts to show how Christian worship, in all its forms, should be understood as the self-communication of the Triune God.... The mystery of the liturgy is the mystery of the history of salvation, fully revealed in the special missions of the Father’s one *Word* and one Spirit. It is, at its depth, the life and work of the Triune God in the economy of salvation.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy* I, 3.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 94-95.

<sup>125</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, “Reflections on Modern Eucharistic Theology,” *New Catholic World* 224, (1981), 178-181; Also, Edward J. Kilmartin, *Reception in History: An Ecclesiological Phenomenon*

The benefit of a systematic theology of liturgy is that it brings together “all the themes of theology.”<sup>126</sup> The task of systematic theology is to explain God’s initiative and human response to it in faith, in particular through sacraments.<sup>127</sup>

Kilmartin looked at liturgy as a way to develop theology, offering a detailed treatment of the *lex orandi lex credendi* principle for liturgical theology. Like most scholars, Kilmartin traces the origin of this axiom back to *Capitula Coelestini*, a work by Prosper of Aquitaine (d. circa 463) who states that the law of belief is established by the law of prayer. This idea could also be found in Patristic literature, in particular in the writings of other early Christian authors. In recent years attempts have been made to rediscover liturgy as the source of theology. Kilmartin states, “the liturgy contains instructional ingredients in its prayer, song, and symbolic actions” that awakens the faith of the believers, leading them to express it in their daily actions.<sup>128</sup>

Kilmartin, therefore, tries to integrate *lex orandi* with *lex credendi* in his attempt to develop his own systematic theology of authentic sacrifice. Although at first glance one might conclude that his integration of both these concepts is nothing more than a pragmatic method of working, yet this is a key element in the way his theology of the Eucharist developed. He suggests a need for an alternative synthesis of a Eucharistic theology for the third millennium based on the reintegration of *lex orandi* and the *lex credendi*. For this, he focuses on the early EPs as the source and the origin of the theology of Eucharistic sacrifice. This means studying these texts will reveal much about the authentic meaning of Eucharistic sacrifice. He believes that the law of prayer draws the believers more deeply into the law of belief, and that this will enrich the celebration of the Eucharist in itself.

Kilmartin confesses he is unable to determine what exactly the final synthesis of his integration of *lex orandi* with *lex credendi* might be,<sup>129</sup> but he hopes that his attempts, and his willingness to re-examine the EPs of the early Church to find alternative pathways, could provide a roadmap for future exploration and thought.

### 3.3.2.2 History

For Kilmartin, the theology of authentic sacrifice is not an entirely new invention – it was already there in the early Church and needed only to be recovered. He thinks that in the West the concept of the authentic Christian sacrifice receded into the background and became blurred due to specific liturgical and theological developments, culminating in the average theology of the Eucharist after Trent. This explains his recourse to the practices and theology of the early Church. Kilmartin is not offering a radical new or original view on the Eucharist, but is trying to guarantee continuity with the tradition on the basis of liturgy

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and *Its Significance* ed. Jeffery Gros, *The Search for Visible Unity: Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry* (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1984), 34-54. This article is the reprint of what he published in the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* in the same year.

<sup>126</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy* I, 95.

<sup>127</sup> Kilmartin, “Theology of the Sacraments,” 128.

<sup>128</sup> Kilmartin, “A Roman Catholic Response,” 139-140.

<sup>129</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 352.

Kilmartin believes that the resources to understand the Eucharist as a sacrifice which establishes a communion with Christ and through Him with God are present in the theology of early Christianity, in the tradition that originates from the apostles, in the views on sacraments of Western Fathers, the Greek Fathers and, especially early EPs. A more detailed reading of the classical EPs of the Christian tradition, which we shall deal with in the next section,<sup>130</sup> will provide considerable insight into the questions of authentic meaning of sacrifice.<sup>131</sup> In other words, one should focus not on the *lex orandi* of the Tridentine or post-Tridentine period, but of the patristic period. It is the interpretation of the practices of liturgical text and forms of early Christianity that will help us to eliminate the constraints that have crept in over the centuries. Therefore, studying the EP's of the Early Christian period is important.

We have already seen in the first chapter how, according to Kilmartin, in the West the ideas of sacraments, liturgy, sacrifice, etc. have been distorted over the course of time, particularly during the time of the Reformation.<sup>132</sup> In order to find key answers to the controversies of the Reformation, as well as find solutions to the questions regarding Eucharistic sacrifice, Kilmartin began to investigate concepts found in the early Church, beginning with their biblical roots. He believes that Scripture itself contains answers to the theological issues related to the sacrificial concept of the Eucharist. "From the OT and NT we can learn much about God's names, actions, speech and the conditions for answering him [God]," he says.<sup>133</sup> There are enough material and norms already available in the OT and NT in order to investigate "the quality and potential of the renewed liturgy and for promoting the experience of God speaking and acting in the midst of the assembly."<sup>134</sup> The NT, for example, contains more evidences of the Eucharistic celebrations as "Christian celebrations of the faith"<sup>135</sup> that stress the meal aspect.<sup>136</sup> Kilmartin also thinks that Scripture can and must be the source for offering a valid interpretation of Trent, which differs from the one given by average theology.<sup>137</sup>

As already seen in chapter two,<sup>138</sup> Kilmartin took the patristic views of the sacraments and connected them to the "economy of salvation" which he believed still to be in progress and which could be experienced by all the baptized. The Latin Fathers made great effort to work out and explain the ever-deeper meaning of the liturgical symbolic activity of God, Christ and the Church.<sup>139</sup> They also explicitly attest to the idea that the Church shares in the priesthood of Christ through baptism and offers the sacrifice of the Mass.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, they also testify to the fact that the spiritual

<sup>130</sup> See p. 158.

<sup>131</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Dialogical Process*, The Church inside and Out: Baptist-Catholic Regional Conference, vol. Febr. 4-6 (Washington: United States Catholic Conference, 1974), 11-21; cf. Edward J. Kilmartin, "Sacraments Revisited," *New Catholic World* 217 (1974), 126-129; and cf. Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 268-287.

<sup>132</sup> See p. 26.

<sup>133</sup> Kilmartin, "The Achievement of Sacrosanctum Concilium," 570.

<sup>134</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 30, 45.

<sup>135</sup> Kilmartin, *A Modern Approach to the Word of God*, 100.

<sup>136</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 13.

<sup>137</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 184.

<sup>138</sup> See p. 98.

<sup>139</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 95.

<sup>140</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *Eucharist* ed. St. Joseph's Seminary and College, The Catholic Encyclopedia for School and Home (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), 613.



sacrifice of all Christians "is realized most perfectly in the offering of the Mass."<sup>141</sup> Unfortunately, the views of these Church Fathers on the sacraments, liturgy, sacrifice, and the theology of the Trinity, Kilmartin thinks, have been distorted in the West over the course of time.

Kilmartin also takes inspiration from the ideas of the Greek Church Fathers and expands their ideas in his own theology. By Greek Church Fathers, Kilmartin likely had the 4<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene School in mind, for this School saw the sacrificial character of the Eucharist from the *anamnesis* perspective.<sup>142</sup> The theology of these Fathers has a "good name" today in Catholic theology, he says.<sup>143</sup> Moreover, Kilmartin's explanations of the relation between the historical sacrifice of Cross and the Eucharist,<sup>144</sup> the theology of the theandric activity of Christ, the bestowal model (indirectly),<sup>145</sup> the active presence of Christ in the sacraments,<sup>146</sup> and the idea of the Eucharist as an offering [Irenaeus] etc. are all related to original ideas that come from the Greek Fathers.<sup>147</sup> Kilmartin connects all these resources and applies them to his formulation of authentic theology of sacrifice.

### 3.3.2.3 THE CHRISTIAN MEANING OF SACRIFICE

In the first chapter, while dealing with the anthropological theories of sacrifice, we concluded that people made these sacrifices in and for their community, in and by their faith, directed towards their God or Gods. If that is the case, what makes Kilmartin's model of authentic sacrifice different from anthropological theories of sacrifice? Kilmartin contrasts the general meaning of the term "sacrifice" and its "authentic Christian meaning." He thinks that a basic error in the average theology of the Eucharist in the West is that it presupposes a general, anthropological, or "history of religions" meaning of sacrifice and applies that to both to the historical sacrifice of Christ on the Cross and to the Eucharist. A key element of that general meaning is that there is an immolation of a victim. We shall elaborate on how Kilmartin sees this error and his views as to the means of correcting it.

Kilmartin's rejection of taking a general definition of sacrifice as a starting point was not shared by Rahner and Vonier. Kilmartin strongly objects to the anthropological concept of sacrifice. On this point, his position differs from that of Rahner. Rahner states, "in recent theological writing it has been emphasized that it is incorrect or at least inadequate to assume as starting point for reflection on sacrifice in Christianity any idea of sacrifice belonging to the Old Testament or derived from comparative religion, and to demand that this concept must be exemplified in the sacrifice of the Cross or of the Mass."<sup>148</sup> Rahner presented an epistemological reason for his position, viz., any term used in a rational discussion has an underlying meaning or connotation.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 613.

<sup>142</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 18.

<sup>143</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 536.

<sup>144</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 4.

<sup>145</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 241& 226. Augustine formulated the procession model from the Greek Fathers. And from Augustine, Coffey developed his model from whom Kilmartin got the inspiration and made it his own in bestowal model.

<sup>146</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 536.

<sup>147</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 241.

<sup>148</sup> Rahner and Häussling, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 13.

He comments that, "consequently, if the sources of revelation call the death on the Cross or the Mass a sacrifice, they must employ a term which has at least a generally defined sense and content independent of its use in this instance. Otherwise they would only be putting a verbal label on an occurrence already understood without it."<sup>149</sup> In addition, Rahner argued against the claim that the Mass is not a sacrifice in the general meaning of the word, based on the traditional beliefs and faith of the Church. For him, a combination of both the general as well as the traditional Christian dimension of sacrifice is important to understand the Eucharist. For these reasons, Rahner concludes that "we can and must start from the usual concept of sacrifice (or at least from those elements of it which are generally acknowledged to belong to a sacrifice), in the way that has been customary in the theology of the last few centuries."<sup>150</sup>

A similar view is also held by Vonier. The characteristics of Vonier's views have been already dealt with in depth in the first chapter; however, in this context a recapitulation might be useful. Vonier rejects the idea that the Eucharist is a natural sacrifice and argues that it is a sacramental sacrifice. However, he points out that Christ's historical death on the Cross is a natural sacrifice, thereby implying that death of the victim is crucial to the concept of sacrifice. Further, he writes that both the Eucharist and Christ's historical death are actual sacrifices and that "Christ's natural sacrifice and Christ's Eucharistic sacrifice stand to each other in a relationship which is truly wonderful."<sup>151</sup> Having read Aquinas, Vonier states that the Eucharistic, sacramental sacrifice is a sign which can only be understood by faith.<sup>152</sup> Sacrament for Vonier has to do with signification. By signifying it, the Eucharist makes Christ's historical sacrifice really present but "in an unseen way" and in a bloodless way, i.e., it is the "mysterious prolongation," or "the representation, pure and simple," or the "sacrament in the full sense of the word" of the real, natural sacrifice of Jesus.<sup>153</sup> So, while for Vonier the Eucharistic celebration itself does not entail a real destruction of a victim, it does signify – and renders present – Christ's immolation in the natural sacrifice of the Cross. In this sense, Vonier's theology also seems to take a general definition as its starting point. Besides Vonier, as seen already, also for Casel, the historical sacrifice of the Cross is "objectively realized in a sacramental mode."<sup>154</sup>

Kilmartin argues for a theology of sacrifice that goes beyond the general understanding of sacrifice, also as conceived by Rahner and Vonier. While Rahner prefers to start from a general idea of sacrifice, indicating how and where Christian sacrifice differs, Kilmartin takes a different route, one which would eliminate the idea of sacrifice in general terms. Contrary to Rahner, Kilmartin rejects pre-Christian sacrifice. He considers such sacrifices *passé* (old fashioned) and asserts that such notions are not evident even in the sacrificial language of the EPs.<sup>155</sup>

In his assessment of Vonier, Kilmartin points out that Vonier's concern was to show that the sacramental world can "operate outside the limits of space and time" and that

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 13-14.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>151</sup> Vonier, *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, 95.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 235 & 135.

<sup>154</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 407.

<sup>155</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 12.

a memorial in the sense of representation of Calvary is possible, although Christ is not immolated anew.<sup>156</sup> Kilmartin appreciates Vonier for having vigorously stood for the "sacramental-sacrifice" of the Eucharist. While Kilmartin is rather explicit in his criticism of Rahner, he is not, however, explicit in his criticism of Vonier. Kilmartin neither opts for "sacramental sacrifice," nor for the "sacrificial sacrament." The reason is, firstly, because, from the perspective of sacramental sacrifice, the representative functions of the priest and the Church become complicated: Who is offering the Mass? And, secondly, from the perspective of sacrificial sacrament, the objective representation of the Cross in the Mass, with which Kilmartin is wrestling, is implicated.<sup>157</sup> Moreover, it is clear that while dealing with the relationship between the sacramental and sacrificial dimension of the Eucharist, Kilmartin prioritizes the sacrificial aspect. He explicitly states the sacrificial aspect is "logically prior and clearly superior."<sup>158</sup> At the same time, he does not minimize the sacramental sphere.

According to Kilmartin, the term 'sacrifice' in a Christian context must be taken to express the self-giving act of Jesus and that of the Christians. He stresses that the sacrifice on the Cross put an end to all (general) sacrifices (echoing especially the Epistle to the Hebrews). Because theologians assumed a general meaning of sacrifice in the Eucharist, they began to look for some kind of real destruction or sign of immolation in the Eucharistic rite. Being concerned with the replacement of a general definition of sacrifice and its implications for the sacrament of the Eucharist, Kilmartin says a "theologian cannot remain content with this anthropological explanation of the sacraments" since it is "too superficial."<sup>159</sup>

While dealing with the concept of sacrifice, Kilmartin often speaks of the Christ-event. By this term Kilmartin designates the most important events in Jesus' life, from his birth, through his ministry to his death and resurrection.<sup>160</sup> The divine plan has its culmination in the Christ-event, and more importantly it is in the event of the Cross that the salvation story unfolds.<sup>161</sup> The Cross event is "the ultimate historical expression" of the Son who emptied Himself to become a human being.<sup>162</sup> It is something that is not renewed or repeated in the celebrations of the Eucharist.<sup>163</sup> Nor is it 'represented' in the way that average theology took this to happen. The climactic expression of the sacrifice of Jesus is never to be repeated or made present again. It's a once and for all event. All that the celebrating community can do is present itself to this event which occurs in a sacramental way in the Church's celebration of the Eucharist.<sup>164</sup> The Christ-event, which consists of the whole of Christ's life and death including the Last Supper, is recalled by the celebrating community in obedience during the *anamnesis* part of the EPs.<sup>165</sup> In this sense, Kilmartin's theory of sacrifice

<sup>156</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 253 & 277. Also cf. Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 407.

<sup>157</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 174 & 170.

<sup>158</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 609.

<sup>159</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 142.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 154-155.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>163</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 10.

<sup>164</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 185-186.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 295. During the patristic period, liturgical celebration corresponded to the whole Christ-event and not the individual events of Christ's life as commemorated in the Church today which includes Christmas and Epiphany, Baptism, Ascension of the Lord, Pentecost. In those days it was a Paschal Feast. Cf. Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 214.

cannot reach a compromise with any general anthropological theory of sacrifice offered by the various authors we dealt with in chapter one.

The Christ-event has already eliminated any call for sacrifices in the history of religions sense of the word. Kilmartin writes of his own tradition: "Catholic theology did not take seriously enough the fact that 'sacrifice' in the history-of-religions sense was abolished with the Christ-event."<sup>166</sup> Through his self-sacrificing death on the Cross, Jesus has demolished the notion of sacrifice in its general understanding. The Christ-event has already done away with sacrifice in the general sense of the word. Seeking an immolation is no longer needed, whether it involves bloodshed or not. The only way in which there can still be an immolation in the Eucharist is not a kind of unbloody, real, or symbolic immolation of Christ, but the spiritual self-giving of the faithful, participating in the act of Jesus' self-giving to the Father.<sup>167</sup> If Kilmartin's proposal of Christ abolishing sacrifice in the general sense of the word is correct, then it seems to be meaningless to prove how the Mass is a sacrifice in this sense of the word. From this viewpoint, the Eucharist is not a sacrificial act in the ordinary sense of the term at all.

Kilmartin stresses very much that the Christ event, i.e., the death of Jesus on Calvary puts an end to all natural sacrifices and instead opts the "spiritualization of sacrifice," which is identical with Christian sacrifice. Kilmartin understands sacrifice from a spiritual perspective,<sup>168</sup> i.e., doing everything in a spiritual way assisted by the Holy Spirit. He draws our attention to the NT understanding of spiritual sacrifice: "the New Testament sources present a theology of spiritual sacrifice, the offering of one's whole being (body and spirit) in the service of God."<sup>169</sup> The spiritual sacrifice traced in the NT "turns upside down the history of religions' understanding of sacrifice."<sup>170</sup> For Kilmartin, the once and for all sacrifice of Christ on the Cross is the authentic sacrifice. Believers must become part of this sacrifice, not in a historical way but in a spiritual way, and share in Christ's redemptive works. 'Spiritual' does not merely mean 'ethical' or something that remains only in the abstract. The liturgical (or cultic) dimension of sacrifice remains also relevant. The NT spiritual sacrifice is not to be constrained only to "the offering of self... which includes... sentiments of love and obedience,"<sup>171</sup> or "the loving practical service of one's neighbor," or "in the preaching of the Gospel," but also in the "communal activity of worship."<sup>172</sup> Kilmartin provides additional support for this idea from the Fathers of the Church who "testify to the fact that the spiritual sacrifice of all Christians must make of themselves is realized most perfectly in the offering of the Mass."<sup>173</sup> That being said, the NT understanding of

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<sup>166</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West* 184. Drawing the concepts of Kilmartin, Daly almost says the same thing in his writings. Cf. Daly, "Robert Bellarmine and Post-Tridentine Eucharistic Theology," 259; Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 405-457; Daly, "Sacrifice Unveiled or Sacrifice Revisited," 24-42; Robert J. Daly, "Eucharist Origins: From the New Testament to the Liturgies of the Golden Age," *Theological Studies* 66, no. 1 (2005), 3-22; Daly, "New Developments in the Theology of Sacrifice," 49-58; Robert J. Daly, "Violence and Institution in Christianity," *Contagion: Journal of Violence, Mimesis, and Culture* 9, no. Spring (2002), 22.

<sup>167</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy* 1, 339.

<sup>168</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 241.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.

<sup>170</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 8.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>172</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 241.

<sup>173</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 613.

communal activity of worship is also not to be restricted only to the sacramental activities: "the sacraments are not merely signs, holy signs, but saving instruction, obligation and promise which require a response of the whole person."<sup>174</sup> In other words, "liturgy is not something that takes place totally independent of routine Christian living."<sup>175</sup>

Kilmartin is not alone in his view of 'spiritualization of sacrifice'. Recent developments indicate that his ideas have similarities, for instance, in the works of John McKenna<sup>176</sup> and Daly,<sup>177</sup> who has become a strong supporter of this idea. Taking the concept from Origen, Kilmartin makes it clear that the spiritualization depreciates the material-earthly understanding of sacrifice. Spiritualization, he says, "consists in the internalizing of the saving encounter with Christ."<sup>178</sup> In other words, spiritualization leads one into a spiritual ascent into union with the divine Logos. Although, from Platonic metaphysics, Origen's idea may look weak, Kilmartin prefers this inspiration since such a way of theologizing "supplies a new model for a new systematic approach."<sup>179</sup> Nevertheless, there are risks inherent in understanding sacrifices purely from the perspective of spiritualization. Michon M. Matthiesen, in his recent work, clearly analyses spiritualization as anti-sacrifice since there is a rejection of the "cultic sense of the word."<sup>180</sup> Kilmartin himself does not reject the cultic sense of the word: "It is clear from the NT account of Eucharistic worship (Acts. 2:42; 1 Cor. 10:16-17; 11. 17-33) that the celebration of the Eucharist involves the cultic activity of the whole assembly."<sup>181</sup>

On the basis of the evidence currently available, it seems fair to suggest that Kilmartin acknowledges both the dimensions of the spiritual sacrifice of the NT (communal worship and ethical/moral actions) as equally important. Although he says that the relationship between these two goes beyond mere juxtaposition, what stands out for him will become clearer after we have dealt with authentic sacrifice in the final section of this chapter.

### 3.3.2.4 REINTERPRETATION OF TRINITARIAN THEOLOGY

Besides the points discussed above, a fourth basic issue for Kilmartin is to found a Eucharistic theology on the Trinity. This is connected with the fact that especially in Western Christianity a one-sided Trinitarian theology had come into development in

<sup>174</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 100.

<sup>175</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 83.

<sup>176</sup> He suggests that the term 'sacrifice' is to be understood from the context of an extended process of 'spiritualization'. Cf. McKenna, "Eucharist and Sacrifice: An Overview," 386-402.

<sup>177</sup> According to Daly, the term 'spiritualization' has many potential meanings. Daly means that in the Christian sense; the word comes to mean 'Christologize'. 'Spiritualization' indicates an interiorization of the movement of 'offering' originally required in ritual sacrificial actions. Christian sacrifice, therefore, is not a cultic but rather an ethical concept, one that identifies its emphasis in the day-to-day, real life of Christian virtue. Cf. Robert J. Daly, *The Origins of the Christian Doctrine of Sacrifice* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), 7 & 238.

<sup>178</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 289.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 289.

<sup>180</sup> Matthiesen, *Sacrifice as Gift: Eucharist, Grace, and Contemplative Prayer in Maurice de la Taille*, 17.

<sup>181</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 612.

which the Holy Spirit had an under-evaluated role. To find an alternative for this defective Trinitarian theology he looks for inspiration in Eastern theology, but also the theology of Augustine, and, at the end of his life, makes use of the bestowal model that had been developed by Coffey.

Kilmartin was among the first to attempt a full-scale liturgical theology from a Trinitarian perspective, which helps to analyze the concept of sacrifice more deeply.<sup>182</sup> According to Kilmartin's investigations, answers to the questions on the authentic meaning of sacrifice cannot be clearly given until one learns first to look at Christianity from a specifically Trinitarian perspective. Hence, he uses 'Trinitarian theology' as a methodological principle. In his articulation of the Trinitarian theology of authentic sacrifice, he asserts that we should understand Christian worship first of all as the celebration of the Trinity. It is the celebration of the mysterious life of God. This is his ultimate position, his final word on liturgy of the Mass.<sup>183</sup> If liturgy is the celebration of the Triune life of God then it means that by celebrating liturgy, the celebrants (priests and the people) become partakers of the Triune life of God. However, Kilmartin also stresses active involvement from the part of the celebrants as an important component for participation. This accounts for the "dialogical" character of the liturgy. By exploiting the expressions traced in the Scriptures, Kilmartin interprets celebration of liturgy as "divinization" of human beings in the divine life of God.<sup>184</sup> Seeds of the idea of participation in the Triune life through liturgical meal are traced in his work as early as 1965. The liturgical meal, "a spiritual food which preserves supernatural life" offers an encounter with God.<sup>185</sup> Believers are invited to partake and to respond to the self-communication of the Father through Jesus in the Spirit, because through sacraments, two effective actions are made complete: Christ speaks to God and Christ speaks to us. Taken together, this particular view also seems to suggest the importance of the unified missions of both the Second and the Third person of the Trinity from the Father in us and for us for our participation in his divine life. Kilmartin also reminds that "in its origin and in its goal, liturgy is a participation in the economic Trinity."<sup>186</sup>

### 3.3.2.5 CONCLUSION

We have outlined the methodological principles Kilmartin used to formulate his systematic theology of authentic sacrifice. Our main questions were: What does Kilmartin's road map look like? And where did he look for inspiration? Kilmartin was eager to find an alternative to the average Catholic theology of the Eucharist, as it developed in post-Tridentine theology and is still dominant today. He thought by

<sup>182</sup> Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," 243-264; Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue on the Eucharist," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 13, no. (1976), 213-219; Kilmartin, "Liturgical Theology II," 494-496.

<sup>183</sup> This is how Power summarizes Kilmartin's position: For Kilmartin, there is only one liturgy, the heavenly liturgy, which is that of the all-embracing Divine Being, and its earthly realization in the celebration of his pilgrim people. Cf. Duffy, Power, and Irwin, "Current Theology: Sacramental Theology: Review of Literature," 667.

<sup>184</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 100.

<sup>185</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 20.

<sup>186</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Particular Liturgy of the Individual Church: The Theological Basis and Practical Consequences*, Placid Lecture Series, vol. 7 (Bangalore: Dharmaram Publications, 1987), 122.

integrating *lex orandi* with *lex credendi*, and returning to the theology and practice of the early Church, a solution could be achieved, although he is not sure of the final synthesis. Kilmartin advocates *ressourcement* based on Scripture, the Church Fathers, both Greek and Latin, and also the EPs. Furthermore, Kilmartin rejected sacrifice in the general sense of the word, i.e., sacrifice should not be understood from the common concept of the term, which emphasizes the killing of a victim, since the Christ-event has done away with sacrifice in that sense. Kilmartin disagrees with Rahner and Vonier. He rejects this idea and emphasizes that the Christian concept of authentic sacrifice should be based upon Scripture (New Testament) and early Christian sources. Accordingly, he favours the NT views of sacrifice from a spiritual perspective. Moreover, Eucharistic theology based on the Trinity accounts for specific roles of Christ, the Spirit, and the believers in the celebration of the Eucharistic worship.

With these points in mind, we now proceed to investigate the EPs of the Church through which Kilmartin verifies his concepts of authentic sacrifice, clarifying which conclusions, according to Kilmartin, can be drawn from them concerning the Eucharist in general and Eucharistic sacrifice in particular. This process will also make clear which general principles Kilmartin drew from these sources.

### 3.4 THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYERS OF THE CHURCH

In this section we shall explore the questions: Why does Kilmartin direct us to study the EPs of the Church and why is he so fascinated by these prayers?

#### 3.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Dissatisfied with the average theology of the Eucharist, and in an attempt to construct an alternative, Kilmartin began to study the structure, content, and development of the early Christian EPs (*lex orandi*). In these texts, he found the basis for a more sound and balanced theology of the Eucharist and, in respect of his theology of authentic sacrifice, he would develop a Trinitarian theology which encompassed two important aspects of the Eucharist, namely, the proper mission of the Holy Spirit, and the believers' response towards God's initiative of a new covenant, established through Jesus Christ, and which allows them to participate in the very life of God by means of their participation in the Church's celebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice. Kilmartin was confident that a study of these prayer texts could establish the needed missing link in the current theological understanding of the Eucharistic sacrifice. He became engrossed in the basic structure of the EPs, especially of those "typical Eucharistic prayers dating from the end of the first century through the fourth century,"<sup>187</sup> believing that a study of these texts would provide "material for judging what should be normative for our Eucharistic theology regarding the sacrificial character of the Lord's Supper and the consecratory power of the prayer of the Church."<sup>188</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 275

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 268

From the beginning of his career, Kilmartin was interested in the EPs of the Church. In his initial studies of the literary theological analysis of the EPs, he wrestled with the question of their structure and content and their theological significance for the Church today, posing questions such as: Who is offering the Eucharist? Within what pattern should the Eucharist be celebrated? What is the role of Christ and the Holy Spirit? In his quest, Kilmartin found interesting answers. He recognised a Trinitarian dynamic, which expresses the participation of the worshipping community. He discovered that these prayers express a close relationship to their Jewish counterparts,<sup>189</sup> but also that they point to something more. He continued to seek answers throughout the rest of his life and was particularly influenced and stimulated in this quest by the works of Johannes Betz,<sup>190</sup> Hans Urs Von Balthasar,<sup>191</sup> and most of all, by the insights of Cesare Giraudo. After having familiarized himself with the work – and the person – of Giraudo and his theory as to the bipartite structure of the EPs, Kilmartin saw the EPs in a new perspective and found solutions to his earlier questions.

With this background in mind we can proceed further with our examination into Kilmartin's investigation of the EPs.

#### 3.4.1.1 Eucharist in the *Didache*

Since the *Didache* is considered central to various developed liturgies of the Catholic Churches, it plays an important role in many of the accounts of liturgical traditions.<sup>192</sup> Since its discovery, various scholars have argued about the *Didache's* traditional ritual directives in relation to the last meal Jesus took before his death. Questions have been raised such as: How should the Eucharist of the *Didache* be understood since it fails to cite references to the Last Supper?<sup>193</sup> There has been and continues to be much discussion amongst scholars about the *Didache*, particularly around the question as to whether it ever contained an Institution Narrative. Scholars such as Gerard

<sup>189</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 158

<sup>190</sup> Betz's explanation of the sacrificial element of the Eucharist in a commemorative meal pattern, the sacrificial deeds of Jesus from incarnation to glorification and his presence in the Eucharistic elements, the self-offering of Jesus as a gift, Holy Communion as the goal of Christian Eucharist, the presence of the eternal saving acts of Christ etc. are some concepts Kilmartin seems to have integrated in his works. Cf. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 319-321.

<sup>191</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 301. Kilmartin takes the view of Von Balthasar on the EPs seriously. However, Kilmartin also distances himself on some points. In emphasizing the meal event as a community event, Von Balthasar saw the presider of the Mass as the "delegate of Christ as well as the community." In so doing he gave theological priority to the priest, since he represents Christ as the bridegroom. Kilmartin, however, primarily understood the Eucharist as a sacrifice. Since the community as a whole is engaged in this celebration, it is not primarily the action of the priest. He is there merely as minister to the occasion. Kilmartin writes that even the apostles themselves are "not servants of the *ipsissima verba Christi* but servants of the word of God through the obedient exercise of their faith" as expressed in the Church. Cf. Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," 258. In other words, in so far as a priest represents the Church which is the principal offerer [*offerens principalis*], the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice can be attributed to him.

<sup>192</sup> Gerard Rouwhorst, "Didache 9-10: A Litmus Test for the Research on Early Christian Liturgy Eucharist", in *Matthew and Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu*, ed. Huub van de Sandt (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 151-156.

<sup>193</sup> Joseph A. Jungmann, "The Last Supper Tradition", in *Knowledge and the Coming Kingdom: The Didache's Meal Ritual and Its Place in Early Christianity*, ed. Jonathan Schwiebert (New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 17.



Rouwhorst, who completed a comprehensive study of the *Didache*, understand the Eucharistic meal of the *Didache* as something more than just a communal meal.<sup>194</sup>

Chapters 9 and 10 of the *Didache* contain three prayers of thanksgiving which are intended for a communal meal. The longest one, which is said after the meal, has a tripartite structure consisting of two 'thanksgivings' and a petition. The connection of this prayer with the Jewish *birkat ha-mazon*, which equally has a tripartite structure, has been the subject of much and varied discussion.<sup>195</sup> However, in our analysis of Kilmartin's perspectives on the *Didache*, we shall focus on the following few questions: What sort of celebration was the Eucharist of the *Didache* according to Kilmartin? What role did the Institution Narrative play, or not play, in it? Was it a valid or legitimate form of Eucharist and why? What concept of sacrifice underlies this celebration?

In his analysis of the *Didache*, Kilmartin follows the view of Betz<sup>196</sup> – and several other scholars – according to whom the *Didache* did not contain an explicit Institution Narrative. Kilmartin continues to hold on to this view for the rest of his life. However, although an explicit recitation of an Institution Narrative is missing, Kilmartin believes that implicit reference is made to it. In his opinion, the Christians of the 1st century just continued to 'do' what Jesus had commanded his disciples to 'do' without pronouncing the Institution Narrative of the Lord's Supper as such in their celebrations.<sup>197</sup> The phrase "do this" can be confusing. It can at times be understood as 'doing exactly this', i.e. all that Jesus did and said during the Last Supper including the recitation of the words of the Institution Narrative. But for Kilmartin, "doing this"<sup>198</sup> is the mandate the disciples received from Jesus to do just what Jesus did, i.e., to give thanks and praise to God the Father. Therefore, 'doing this' need not be understood as implying 'telling' all that Jesus did during the Last Supper as if doing what Jesus did is incomplete unless whatever He said also is included. Using Paul's idea regarding 'do this' [1 Cor 11:26], which equals "drink this unique cup, 'the cup of blessing' in remembrance of the *Kurios*,"<sup>199</sup> Kilmartin suggests taking into consideration the whole context, together with the intention. Therefore, what the 1<sup>st</sup>-century Christians did was, in fact, what Jesus did, although they did not articulate this precisely. Kilmartin warns that although the Institutional Narrative is absent in the texts, "it would be incorrect to conclude that this text does not represent a true

<sup>194</sup> Gerard Rouwhorst, "Bread and Cup in Early Christian Eucharist Celebrations", in *Bread of Heaven: Customs and Practices Surrounding Holy Communion: Essays in the History of Liturgy and Culture*, ed. Charles Caspers, Gerard Lukken, and Gerard Rouwhorst (Kampen - Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1995), 27-28.

<sup>195</sup> Esther Kobel, "Dining with John: Communal Meals and Identity Formation in the Fourth Gospel and Its Historical and Cultural Context", in *Biblical Interpretation Series* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 158-159. Kilmartin would agree with this proposal together with Schürmann for whom "the ritual Jewish meal became a technical term for the Eucharist." Quoted from Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Cup in the Primitive Liturgy," 32-33. For the original edition, cf. H. Schürmann, "Die Gestalt der Urchristlichen Eucharistiefeier," *MüTZ* 6, no. (1955), 111-113.

<sup>196</sup> For a detailed analysis of the *Didache* by Betz, cf. Johannes Betz, *The Eucharist in the Didache* ed. Jonathan A. Draper, The *Didache* in Modern Research (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 244-275.

<sup>197</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 276. Similar opinion is found also in Mazza. Cf. Enrico Mazza, *The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer*, trans. Ronald E. Lane (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1995), 294-299.

<sup>198</sup> Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Cup in the Primitive Liturgy," 42.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

Eucharist.”<sup>200</sup> Actually, for Kilmartin, the *Didache* is a valid Eucharist, even although an explicit Institution Narrative is missing.

Kilmartin also discusses the role of sacrifice in the prayers of *Didache*, particularly in Chapter 14. In order for the sacrifice to be pure, certain conditions, which co-relate to the Jewish demand for offering in the Temple, must be fulfilled such as reconciliation between the members.<sup>201</sup> The prayers of thanksgiving are seen as sacrifices of praise, and this also applies to the entire meal/meeting as a whole. At the same time, the food about which the thanksgiving is pronounced is considered as “holy.”<sup>202</sup> The prayer of thanksgiving is made in order that Christ Jesus may descend upon the participants and live in their hearts.<sup>203</sup> The thanksgiving prayer is interpreted as sacrifice and the entire meal/meeting, including the prayers of thanksgiving, is a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.<sup>204</sup>

The Eucharist of the *Didache*, for Kilmartin, has an eschatological dimension. Relating to the “tree of life” in Genesis 2:9, according to which the life and knowledge are presented as “actual food,” Kilmartin believes that the *Didache* community saw the Eucharistic food and drink as gifts of paradise provided by Wisdom [Jesus]. Eschatology is to be understood as something that is realized in the present, in the celebrating community.<sup>205</sup> In Chapter 14, the author of the *Didache* links the Eucharistic celebration to the prophesy of Malachi 1:11 (“in every place incense will be offered to my name, and a pure sacrifice”), which indicates the characteristics of sacrifice in the messianic era that replaces the old form of sacrifice.<sup>206</sup>

### 3.4.1.2 Justin Martyr

Reference to the EP is made by Justin in his First Apology, an early work addressed to the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius. Besides arguing against the way Christians are being persecuted, Justin also deals in depth with the Christian liturgical rituals of the time.<sup>207</sup> In his First Apology, Justin gives a description of the Eucharistic meal on the first day of the week [Ch. 65-67]. Kilmartin believes Justin’s prayer to be dependent on Jewish table prayer.<sup>208</sup> Furthermore, Kilmartin finds parallels between

<sup>200</sup> Kilmartin, “Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers,” 276.

<sup>201</sup> Kilmartin, “The Eucharistic Prayer: Content and Function of Some Early Eucharistic Prayers,” 125.

<sup>202</sup> Kilmartin, “Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers,” 276.

<sup>203</sup> Kilmartin, “The Eucharistic Prayer: Content and Function of Some Early Eucharistic Prayers,” 129.

<sup>204</sup> Kilmartin, “Eucharist as Sacrifice,” 610; Kilmartin, “Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers,” 276.

<sup>205</sup> The *Didache* community recognized Jesus as the one who fulfils the function of ‘Wisdom’ traced in Proverb 9, 1-6. Kilmartin, “The Eucharistic Prayer: Content and Function of Some Early Eucharistic Prayers,” 128-129.

<sup>206</sup> Kilmartin J., *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 4.

<sup>207</sup> Parvis Paul, “Justin Martyr,” *The Expository Times* 120, no. 2 (2008), 53. Two main works can be attributed to Justin, namely, the *First* and the *Second Apology*. Some authors believe that the second *Apology* is part of the first one, even though there have been doubts pertaining to this. For a detailed account of the *First* and the *Second Apology*, cf. L.W. Barnard, *Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 21. The *Second Apology* is a dialogue with Trypho. Cf. Robert McQueen Grant, *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1988).

<sup>208</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 158.

the prayers of Justin and some other very early prayers such as that of the *Didache*, and the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus.<sup>209</sup> Kilmartin believes the EP of Justin has a similar, tripartite structure as the one found in other EPs of the early Church, consisting of a prayer of praise and thanksgiving, remembrance of the redemptive meal of Jesus, and a "petition to God to realize again the saving event of the Lord's Supper in the assembly."<sup>210</sup>

Through these praises and thanksgiving, God the Creator is glorified. The Eucharistic sacrifice takes place through the prayer of thanksgiving. Kilmartin observes that Justin's EP has the same pattern as the Jewish blessings, but it is now "centered on the Logos Jesus Christ and his active presence."<sup>211</sup> Furthermore, there is a link between the pronouncement of Christ's name in Justin and Malachi 1:11, according to which sacrifices will be offered because God's name is great among all the nations. Justin views the Eucharist as the fulfillment of Malachi's prophesy. Kilmartin believes Justin was not the first one to make the connection between the prophesy of Malachi and the Eucharistic worship and points to the fact that it was already there in the liturgical worship attested by the *Didache*. Justin only develops this theme.<sup>212</sup>

Kilmartin notes that Justin's prayer, just like that of the *Didache*, does not contain an explicit Institution Narrative, yet he believes that Justin's Eucharistic liturgy is "celebrated according to the directives of Jesus...[and] the actions of Jesus at the Last Supper"<sup>213</sup> and that the Institution Narrative is the foundation and basis of the liturgical meeting.

The problem remains, Kilmartin says, that there is no trace of a proper Spirit *epiclesis* in this prayer. For Kilmartin, this EP does not "offer good evidence for the existence of a formal *epiclesis* of consecration." Actually, Kilmartin thinks that "the prayer itself seems to have been considered as fulfilling this function without the need for an explicit petition."<sup>214</sup> For Kilmartin, the EP should be taken as a whole. He notes that "as a result of this prayer made in the memorial of the Last Supper, the Logos makes the elements sacrament of his humanity 'for us'."<sup>215</sup>

### 3.4.1.3 The Prayer of Irenaeus

While dealing with the EPs in the early Church, Kilmartin also pays ample attention to the writings of Irenaeus of Lyons, who interprets the Eucharist as an offering of thanksgiving.

For Irenaeus, the Eucharist is consistently related to thanksgiving for the sake of God's creation.<sup>216</sup> Irenaeus associates the Eucharistic offering with that of a

<sup>209</sup> Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Prayer: Content and Function of Some Early Eucharistic Prayers," 119.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>214</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 278.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 278.

<sup>216</sup> Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers : Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1987)

thanksgiving, which leads to the sanctification of the Eucharistic species. He says, "we make offering to God, not as though to one who stands in need of it, but giving thanks for God's gift and sanctifying what has been created."<sup>217</sup>

When we analyze the works of Kilmartin, we can see the remarkable impact that certain ideas of Irenaeus had on his works. With Irenaeus, he has the conviction in common that "God instituted sacrifices for human needs."<sup>218</sup> According to Irenaeus, it is by offering ourselves, in the elements of the bread and wine, the symbols of our thanksgiving, that we will be able to receive the meaning of our lives to God.<sup>219</sup> The Eucharistic elements are symbols of the Church's thanksgiving. Kilmartin, like Irenaeus, also invites the assembly to approach the Eucharist in this way, because it is a sacrifice of offering with thanksgiving. For Kilmartin, there is great significance in the offering of the bread and wine by the community. Therefore, it is important to approach the altar in gratitude and self-offering.<sup>220</sup>

Irenaeus uses the Greek word *epiklesis* in the context of Eucharist, using it in relation to the sanctification of the Eucharist and the bodily resurrection.<sup>221</sup> The question is: To which element of the Eucharist does this term refer? Kilmartin believes that Irenaeus understands the complete *anaphora* as an *epiclesis* which serves for the purpose of consecration.<sup>222</sup> When the bread receives this *epiclesis* of God, it is no longer a common bread but Eucharist.<sup>223</sup> The thanksgiving prayer results in "a 'sacramental Incarnation'."<sup>224</sup> Having been given the Spirit, the believers are able to offer prayers acceptable to God. Kilmartin observes that Irenaeus does not clearly refer to a formal Spirit *epiclesis*.<sup>225</sup> However, the Eucharistic and historical incarnation is grounded on the Logos.<sup>226</sup>

We move now to a discussion of the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus to see what it has to offer to our study of the EPs.

#### 3.4.1.4 Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus

For Kilmartin, the EP of the Apostolic Tradition, which is ascribed by Kilmartin to Hippolytus, "offers a key to the understanding of the 4<sup>th</sup> century EPs of both East and West."<sup>227</sup> Kilmartin states that it is set within the "framework of the Jewish grace-

<sup>217</sup> Adv. haer. IV, 18, 6. English translation: David N. Power, *Irenaeus of Lyons on Baptism and Eucharist* (Nottingham: Grove Books, 1991), 21.

<sup>218</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 140.

<sup>219</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 356.

<sup>220</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 445-447.

<sup>221</sup> Anne McGowan, *Eucharistic Epicleses, Ancient and Modern: Speaking of the Spirit in Eucharistic Prayers*, Alcuin Club Collections, vol. 89 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2014), cf. chapter 1, footnote 18 of the same book.

<sup>222</sup> John McKenna, *The Eucharistic Epiclesis: A Detailed History from the Patristic to the Modern Era*, 11 ed. (Chicago: HillenbrandBooks, 2008), 47-48.

<sup>223</sup> Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Prayer: Content and Function of Some Early Eucharistic Prayers," 123.

<sup>224</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 274.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 278.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 277, cf. Footnote 34 in the same article.

<sup>227</sup> Kilmartin, "Pastoral Office and the Eucharist," 313. Apostolic tradition is attributed to Hippolytus, who is believed to have composed this for the Church in Rome. John F. Baldovin, "Hippolytus and the Apostolic Tradition: Recent Research and Commentary," *Theological Studies* 64, no. 3 (2003), 520.

after-meals and includes the remembrance of the redemptive work of Christ and the words of institution."<sup>228</sup> This is the only prayer from the ante-Nicene period that includes a precise Institution Narrative. Kilmartin believes that the Institution Narrative is given central importance because it fulfils everything Jesus commanded us to do.<sup>229</sup> The EP of the Apostolic Tradition contains a thanksgiving and an *epiclesis* with the Institution Narrative between.<sup>230</sup> In this way, the narrative unites both the thanksgiving as well as the *epiclesis* and, hence, there is an uninterrupted flow from thanksgiving to the *epiclesis*. In the thanksgiving prayers, "the Father is praised through the praising of the works of the Son."<sup>231</sup> The Last Supper in which Christ gives Himself is mentioned as the integral part of history of salvation for which the assembly is engaged in thanksgiving.<sup>232</sup> This means there is an amplifying of the simple thanksgiving, which eventually leads to the "prayer being called sacrifice."<sup>233</sup> One can see a direct connection made between thanksgiving, memorial, and sacrifice.

The Institution Narrative "serves as both object of thanks and authority for what the Church does." The thanksgiving prayer that comes before the narrative leads up to it, and the following sacrificial prayer and petition depend on it.<sup>234</sup> After the gifts have been offered in the prayer of thanksgiving they are consumed during the meal that follows. One may wonder what this signifies. For Kilmartin, through such liturgical action by the community, the person of Christ and his salvific work are made sacramentally present in this visible ritual form.<sup>235</sup>

Consequently, while "Eucharistizing" the bread and wine into "antitypes of the body and blood" of Christ,<sup>236</sup> through the power of the Spirit, the whole community is entering into the presence of the Triune God. In other words, this broadens the liturgical presentation of the community. The Spirit is called upon the oblation (of bread and wine) by the Church to transform them into body and blood of Christ. But the text also presupposes that the transformation of bread has another purpose: that those who partake of them become united into one. By this means, the believers may deepen the communion with each other in this Eucharistic eating and drinking. Kilmartin thinks that this action of the Holy Spirit must be understood as "the sanctification of the communicants, especially through the communication in the

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Kilmartin holds the traditional view according to which Hippolytus would have been the author of the Tradition, but this view is no longer held by most scholars.

<sup>228</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 150.

<sup>229</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 279.

<sup>230</sup> Taking the concept from De Jong, McKenna claims that the most ancient form of *epiclesis* is attributed to Hippolytus, the "communion epiclesis," cf. McKenna, *The Eucharistic Epiclesis: A Detailed History from the Patristic to the Modern Era*, 136. For the original, cf. J.P. de Jong, "Epiklese," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3, (1959), 935-937; the Spirit is been poured upon the participants "that they may receive the fruit of the Eucharist...[and] be brought together in unity [in Jesus]." Cf. Patrick McGoldrick, "The Holy Spirit and the Eucharist," *ITQ* 50, no. 1 (1983), 49. Consequently, in Hippolytus' account, one cannot find a distinction between the Spirit's consecration of the gifts and the people. In other words, the consecration of the Eucharistic species is oriented towards the consecration of the assembly.

<sup>231</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 278.

<sup>232</sup> Kilmartin, "Pastoral Office and the Eucharist," 314.

<sup>233</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 278-279.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>235</sup> Kilmartin, "Pastoral Office and the Eucharist," 314.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 314.

spiritual food and drink."<sup>237</sup> This point will be further elucidated as we move later to our discussion of the role of the Holy Spirit.

### 3.4.1.5 The Anaphora of Addai and Mari

The Church of the East (also called the Assyrian Church) and the Chaldean Church use the Addai and Mari *anaphora*. Even though the present text of this particular *anaphora* originates from a later historical period,<sup>238</sup> it is generally agreed that the nucleus of the prayer dates from around the 4<sup>th</sup> century, making it one of the very first EPs to have been preserved.<sup>239</sup> The *anaphora* of Addai and Mari starts with an opening dialogue which includes a praise addressed to the Triune God. Then follows a section of praise addressed to the Holy Trinity for the creation and salvation of the entire universe just before the *Sanctus* hymn, after which the celebrant gives thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ for having assumed humanity to redeem humankind. Afterwards, he says a prayer of intercession both for the world and the Church before proceeding with the *anamnesis* and the *epiclesis*.<sup>240</sup> It is remarkable to note that his prayer alludes to the Institution Narrative (almost in passing)<sup>241</sup> but does not include a recitation of the words of Institution Narrative.<sup>242</sup>

In spite of missing the explicit Institution Narrative, this EP of the Assyrian Church was approved by the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, and Pope John Paul II through the document entitled, *Guidelines for Admission to the Eucharist Between the Chaldean Church and the Assyrian Church of the East*, promulgated in October 2001. Commenting on this document, Taft says it is "the most remarkable Catholic magisterial document since Vatican II."<sup>243</sup> Giraudo welcomes the Church's recognition of it as "an authentic miracle, a true work of the Holy Spirit."<sup>244</sup>

Kilmartin considers the prayer as a true and valid EP. The prayer includes thankful praise of Christ for creation and redemption and prayer for the dead and living. By the indirect reference to the Last Supper event a link is established between that event and

<sup>237</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 279

<sup>238</sup> George Nedungatt, "The Institution Narrative a Mantra? Rethinking the Theology of the Consecration," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 78, no. 1 (2012), 267-290.

<sup>239</sup> John McKenna, *The Eucharist and the Holy Spirit: The Eucharistic Epiclesis in Twentieth Century Theology (1900-1966)* Alcuin Club Collections, vol. 57 (Great Waking - UK: For Alcuin Club by Mayhew-McKrimmon, 1975), 37.

<sup>240</sup> Jasper and G.J.Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, 42-43.

<sup>241</sup> The Catholic Church understands that the words of the Institution Narrative are indeed present, albeit in a very silent way in this prayer. Cf. John Paul II, "Guidelines for Admission to the Eucharist between the Chaldean Church and the Assyrian Church of the East," (2001), no.3.

<sup>242</sup> For a detailed version cf. Robert F. Taft, "Mass without the Consecration?" *America* 188, no. May 12 (2003), 7 ff. and Robert F. Taft, "Mass without the Consecration? The Historic Agreement between the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church of the East Promulgated 26 October 2001," *Worship* 77, no 6 (2003), 482-509.

<sup>243</sup> Taft, "Mass without the Consecration?" 484. Taft puts it, "though Addai and Mari may lack the Institution *ad litteram*, it contains it virtually," cf. p. 3.

<sup>244</sup> Quoted from John F. Baldovin, "The Usefulness of Liturgical History (Berakah Response)," *Naal Proceedings* (2007), 27. For the Original cf. Cesare Giraudo, "L'anafora degli Apostoli Addai e Mari: la 'gemma orientale della lex orandi,'" *Divinitas (New Series)* 77, (2004), 122

the gathering. Kilmartin further points to some differences with other early EPs and especially with that of the Apostolic Tradition. Kilmartin makes a few important observations.<sup>245</sup> Firstly, since the Institution Narrative is literally missing, the focus is upon the *epiclesis*. Secondly, this *anaphora*, Kilmartin believes, stresses the unworthiness of the participants who are designated as miserable servants (he notes a difference with the *anaphora* of the Apostolic Tradition which calls the believers a "worthy people"). Thereby, the active participation of the assembly in this prayer is downplayed, all the more so since no mention is made of the sacrificial offering of the Church.<sup>246</sup> Kilmartin probably makes this observation because this (supposedly) lesser participation is in contrast with what he proposes in his own theology, which stresses the participation of the partaking congregation in the Trinitarian life, placing emphasis on the entire participating assembly being united with the sacrifice of Jesus.

### 3.4.1.6 Papyrus Strasbourg

The so-called Papyrus Strasbourg manuscript is thought to date between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, but it contains an *anaphora* that is older. The EP of the papyrus is often considered to be the oldest /nucleus of the EP of Mark,<sup>247</sup> and not, as initially scholars thought, just a fragment of the *anaphora* of Mark.<sup>248</sup> Kilmartin supports the claim made by more recent authors who consider this prayer to be a complete *anaphora* in itself. He situates the prayer in the 3rd century stage of development of EPs.<sup>249</sup>

According to Kilmartin, the EP of the Papyrus is close to the one that Clement of Alexandria and Origen knew.<sup>250</sup> The prayer begins with a praise to God the Father for the creation through Jesus and concludes with an intercession for the Church, a prayer for the dead and the living. He observes that this prayer explicitly misses the Narrative of Institution yet is a complete prayer in itself even without it. Kilmartin made the conjecture that the "narrative followed the prayer."<sup>251</sup> Kilmartin considered the content of this prayer as very enriching. He makes two important observations, which served him in the formulation of his own Eucharistic theology. Firstly, he notes that this prayer is sacrificial in its nature. Just as in the (complete) *anaphora* of St. Mark, this prayer also reflects the "confidence which the community has in expecting fruit from its sacrificial prayer."<sup>252</sup> Kilmartin points out that in this prayer the sacrificial aspect came to the front, while the concept of thanksgiving is placed in the background.<sup>253</sup> Further, Kilmartin finds that the theology which lies behind this prayer – and in particular the emphasis placed upon the prayer offered by the Church and

<sup>245</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 282.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> Ralph N. McMichael, *Eucharist: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 24.

<sup>248</sup> Walter D. Ray, "The Strasbourg Papyrus", in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1997), 39.

<sup>249</sup> Many recent theologians would agree with him on this. Cf. Walter D. Ray, "The Strasbourg Papyrus," in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, 153-172; Jasper and G.J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, 52; and Mazza, *The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer*; Geoffrey Cuming, "The Anaphora of St. Mark: A Study in Development," *Le Muséon* 95 (1982), 115-129.

<sup>250</sup> Talley, "The Literary Structure of the Eucharistic Prayer," 416.

<sup>251</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 280.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid., 281.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., 280.

therefore upon the activity of the Church – is also found in the writings of Clement of Alexandria and Origen.

### 3.4.1.7 Fourth Century Eastern and Western Prayers

For the purpose of this study, the following 4<sup>th</sup>-century Eastern and Western Eucharistic Prayers are of particular relevance and will therefore be discussed here: the Apostolic Constitutions, the Prayer of St. James, the Egyptian tradition, and Ambrose.

The Apostolic Constitutions are commonly considered as belonging to the genre known as the Church Orders and are believed to date to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately, the manuscripts indicate neither title nor author.<sup>254</sup> Nearly all the experts regard Syria as its provenance, with Antioch most likely being the place from where it originated.<sup>255</sup> Although the author is anonymous, some relate this work to the author of the Pseudo-Ignatian letters.<sup>256</sup> Kilmartin regards it as a “comprehensive Eucharistic Prayer.” The Institution Narrative, he thinks, appears to be an independent periscope. What fascinates Kilmartin in this prayer is its *epiclesis*. The Holy Spirit is called upon not only to consecrate the Eucharistic species, but also for the “sanctification of the faithful.”<sup>257</sup>

Kilmartin gives a rather detailed description of the content of the EPs of St. James, which belong to the Jerusalemite tradition and contains a synthesis of the Antiochene (West Syrian) tradition. He points to the cosmological perspective of this prayer whereby “the whole cosmos is called to return to God in a unique liturgy which links heaven to earth” and to the synergism of the three divine persons.<sup>258</sup> According to this prayer, the Eucharist works as a means by which believers insert themselves into the economy of salvation and are divinized by the Spirit. The Eucharist is viewed as the sacrifice of propitiation by the Church for forgiveness.

Two EPs provide insight into the (further) development of the EP (after the Strasbourg fragment) in Egypt: Der Balyzeh Papyrus<sup>259</sup> and the Anaphora of Serapion.<sup>260</sup> While dealing with these texts, which have the same typically Egyptian

<sup>254</sup> John F. Baldwin, “Hippolytus and the Apostolic Tradition,” 523.

<sup>255</sup> Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2 ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 2002), 85-87.

<sup>256</sup> Jasper and G.J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, 100.

<sup>257</sup> Kilmartin, “Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers,” 283.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

<sup>259</sup> This particular *anaphora* seems to be coming from the Egyptian tradition of the 6<sup>th</sup> century written on three leaves. Cf. Hans Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord's Supper: A Study in the History of the Liturgy*, trans. Robert Douglas Richardson and Dorothea H.G. Reeve, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill Archive, 1979), 10-11. It is believed to contain an early incomplete Christian manuscript that has a collection of three prayers, a short profession of faith, and a component of an *anaphora*. For a detailed historical analysis, cf. Lucien Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy: Liturgical Texts of the First Four Centuries* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1979), 243. For Kilmartin, this prayer contains two *epicleses*: one for the sanctification of the Eucharistic elements and the second for the sanctification of the believers.

<sup>260</sup> Generally attributed to Serapion, the bishop of Thmuis, this *anaphora* seems to have been written around the 4<sup>th</sup> century and is thought to mirror the Alexandrian tradition in those days. Cf. Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*, trans. Charles Underhill Quinn (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1968), 201-209; This perspective has been challenged by



structure, Kilmartin focuses upon the two *epicleses* these texts contain and discusses both the features they have in common and the differences between them. He points in particular to the position of the *epicleses* within these EPs and to the fact that in Der Balyzed Papyrus, the invocation is addressed to the Holy Spirit, while in Serapion, it is addressed to the Logos.

Finally, Kilmartin points to the fact that in Western Eucharistic theology, as reflected in Ambrose's *De Sacramentis* (IV, 21) – the 4<sup>th</sup>-century document generally thought to be a stenographic record of the sermons given by Ambrose<sup>261</sup> – the consecratory power is attributed to Christ. This means that it is Christ (not the Holy Spirit, nor the priest for that matter) who makes the bread and wine his own body and blood in the same way as He did at the Last Supper.<sup>262</sup> In the prayer used in Milan, the theme of the sanctification of the Eucharistic elements by the Spirit is missing. Instead, there is just a request to the Father to approve the *figura* of the body and blood of Christ.<sup>263</sup>

### 3.4.2 A UNIFIED TRADITION AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN EAST AND WEST

So far, we have interpreted some of the EPs of the early centuries in the light of Kilmartin's work. It is neither possible nor necessary to give more detailed information on each of them because Kilmartin himself dealt with them only briefly. Nevertheless, the information we have gathered is vital to this study. In the following, we shall sketch some broader outlines in the development in the EPs of the early Church as Kilmartin perceives them.

Kilmartin is keen to suggest that there was an absolute unity between the EPs of the early Church. The early Churches of both the East and the West, for Kilmartin, "reflect a unified tradition."<sup>264</sup> Kilmartin was, from the beginning, convinced that, in spite of variations and differences, the EPs of the East and West were based upon a unified pattern which was underlying the EPs of the 4th century and is already found in the Apostolic Tradition but was also related to earlier prayers (Justin, Irenaeus). He formulated his view very pithily in a review of John McKenna's book on the Eucharist and the Holy Spirit, when he took the author to task for not having taken this fact sufficiently into consideration: "It would have been appropriate for M. to refer to the surprisingly uniform structure of the EPs of the 4th century (reflected also in the EP of the Apostolic Tradition), which form the basis of all subsequent EPs of the great traditions of the East and West."<sup>265</sup>

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some who questioned the authenticity of its *epiclesis* and its relation to the Alexandrian tradition. Since none of his work is translated in English (cf. Aelred Tegels, "Abbot Capelle 1884-1961," *Worship* XXXVI, no. 1 (1961/62), 17) this idea is taken from McKenna, *The Eucharistic Epiclesis: A Detailed History from the Patristic to the Modern Era*, 18. For the original cf. Bernard Capelle, "L'Anaphore de Sérapion, Essai d'exégèse," *Le Muséon* 59 (1946), 439-443.

<sup>261</sup> Craig Alan Satterlee, *Ambrose of Milan's Method of Mystagogical Preaching* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2002), 20.

<sup>262</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 286.

<sup>263</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 20-21.

<sup>264</sup> Kilmartin, "Pastoral Office and the Eucharist," 313.

<sup>265</sup> Kilmartin, "Review of Eucharist and Holy Spirit: The Eucharistic Epiclesis in 20th Century Theology by John H. McKenna," 495.

### 3.4.2.1 The Bipartite Theory of Giraudo and Kilmartin - Unified Tradition of the EPs

Having claimed that there is a unified tradition linking the early EPs, the question that necessarily arises is: What are the main characteristics of the unified tradition?

There has long been a debate among liturgical scholars about the structure of the EPs. Two influential theories eventually emerged: that of Enrico Mazza and other scholars, and that of Giraudo, whose views Kilmartin finally adopted. Whereas Mazza argued for the existence of tripartite patterns in the EPs, which include two thanksgivings and a single prayer of supplication,<sup>266</sup> Giraudo claims the EPs follow a bipartite pattern, the origins of which he traces back to the genre of the scriptural (Old Testament) *todah*. Giraudo distinguishes two elements which he designates by the terms “anamnetic” and “epicletic” and which include two aspects, thanksgiving and supplication.<sup>267</sup> In the *anamnetic* part, the saving acts of God in Jesus are remembered and in the *epicletic* one, God is asked to act in the same way as He did in the past. These two parts are, for Giraudo, linked by an intermediate element, the Institution Narrative, which acts as a sanctioning of the prayers of the believers. For Giraudo, either the *anamnetic* or the *epicletic* may be predominant in the prayers, depending on where the Institution Narrative is located.<sup>268</sup>

### 3.4.2.2 Bipartite Pattern and New Covenantal Relationship

According to Kilmartin, the bipartite pattern of the EP formulates a concept of covenant constructed on that of the first covenant God made with the people of Israel. The EPs, as performative forms of the faith of the Church, express a theology of covenant that is based on the Old Covenant established and realized between God and his people.<sup>269</sup> The commitment of the believing community towards the new covenant is explicitly highlighted in the *anamnesis* section of the EPs. For instance, it appears in the EP of the Apostolic Tradition in a passage which sings the praises of God for his wonderful deeds towards humanity: “We thank You, God, through your beloved Child Jesus Christ, whom you sent to us in the final times as redeemer and the messenger of your plan....”<sup>270</sup> For Kilmartin, this new covenant is made by Christ through the Holy Spirit. He comments, “the literary structure of the EP shows that it is a unified prayer directed to the Father ... and to the Son and Holy Spirit. It mirrors the dynamic relation of the partners of the New Covenant in the history of salvation realized fully through Christ in the power of the Spirit.”<sup>271</sup>

<sup>266</sup> Mazza argues for tripartite patterns of the Eucharistic prayers. Cf. Enrico Mazza, *The Origin of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1995)

<sup>267</sup> Talley, “The Literary Structure of the Eucharistic Prayer,” 417. Also cf. Giraudo, *La struttura letteraria de la preghiera eucaristica*.

<sup>268</sup> Mark R. Francis, Anscar J. Chupungco, and Keith F. Peclers, eds. *Liturgy for the New Millennium: A Commentary on the Revised Sacramentary : Essays in Honor of Anscar J. Chupungco, O.S.B* (Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 117. Also cf. Giraudo, *Eucaristia per la Chiesa*.

<sup>269</sup> Kilmartin, “The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology,” 449.

<sup>270</sup> Quoted from Kilmartin, “Pastoral Office and the Eucharist,” 317-318.

<sup>271</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 369. Also cf. Kilmartin, “Theology of the Sacraments,” 169.

### 3.4.3 DEVELOPMENTS & CHANGES

Having described the unified pattern and its theological background, we move on with some of the major changes, developments, and the theological debates they provoked.

#### 3.4.3.1 The Introduction of the Institution Narrative

The *anamnetic-epicletic* structure of the EPs took a new turn when the Institution Narrative was introduced in the EPs and became dominant. Investigation into these early prayers reveals that almost none of the prayers which come from before the 4<sup>th</sup> century contain any record of the words Jesus is said to have pronounced during the Last Supper.<sup>272</sup> The Institution Narrative, in Kilmartin's view, acts as an embolism. Structurally, it must be taken as something that is part of the *anamnesis*. Kilmartin seems to suggest that it is anything but unimportant; for it is the major, central aspect which most gives the EPs their specifically Christian meaning.

The insertion of the Institution Narrative triggered discussion about real presence. On the one hand, there is the 4<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene doctrine of the somatic presence which was also adopted by Ambrose.<sup>273</sup> This tradition, which was also exemplified by John Chrysostom and those succeeding him, "maintained as axiomatic the doctrine of a change of being by which the bread and wine become the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ."<sup>274</sup> Ambrose follows this traditional 4<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene explanation of the process of Eucharistic conversion. However, he interpreted it in a different way.<sup>275</sup> On the other hand, a theologian like Augustine had a more spiritual interpretation of real presence, in that he did not adopt the Eucharistic realism of the Greek Fathers (4<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene). The early medieval interpretation of Augustine downplayed his spiritual and symbolic interpretation of the sacraments of the body and blood.<sup>276</sup> Later Antiochene Fathers abandoned the 4<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene doctrine of real presence of Christ under the forms of bread and wine. One of them, namely, Theodoret of Cyrus (c.393-c.460), influenced the view of Pope Gelasius (d.496) who also did not take up the 4<sup>th</sup>-century view of somatic real presence. Basing himself closely on Theodoret of Cyrus, Pope Gelasius held on to the view that there is no change in the Eucharistic elements, but there emerges a communication of power from God which has an effect on the participants. Gelasius, no less than Theodoret, "appeals to the experience of the senses to prove that the

<sup>272</sup> Bradshaw, ed. *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, 194.

<sup>273</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 15.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid., 35. For an overview of the explanation given by John Chrysostom and others on the real presence cf. Jonathan K. Morse, "The Presence of Christ in the Eucharist: From Scripture to the Fourth Century from a Byzantine Perspective," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 57, no. 1-4 Spr-Wint (2012), 147ff.

<sup>275</sup> According to some scholars, Ambrose's 'innovation' was to borrow the language of conversion from the Greek Fathers. Cf. T. Thompson and J.H. Srawley, *St. Ambrose: "On the Mysteries," And the Treatise "On the Sacraments," By an Unknown Author* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919), xxxiv-xxxv; William Ledwich, "Baptism, Sacrament of the Cross: Looking Behind St. Ambrose", in *The Sacrifice of Praise: Studies on the Themes of Thanksgiving and Redemption in the Central Prayers of the Eucharistic and Baptismal Liturgies*, ed. Bryan D. Spinks, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1981), 199-214 at 200.

<sup>276</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 26-28.

nature of the bread and wine remains unchanged."<sup>277</sup> Gelasius, in fact, borrows from Augustine.<sup>278</sup> However, differences between them exist, as Kilmartin notes. Whereas Pope Gelasius understands the grace present in the Eucharistic species, Augustine sees it as bearing only an extrinsic, spiritual relation to the Eucharistic species.<sup>279</sup> Moreover, while the Pope considers the Eucharistic conversion to be the "sacramental representation of the mystery of the Incarnation," Theodoret views the conversion "as the sacramental representation of the resurrection of Christ."<sup>280</sup>

Though Ambrose accepts the doctrine of somatic presence of the 4<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene School, he differs from them in explaining how this somatic presence comes about. For the early Antiochenes, the somatic presence was based on the concept of the commemorative sacrifice. Ambrose adopted the Greek concept, but he reinterpreted it in a fundamental way by combining it with the North African view of the sacrificial act of the Church made in union with Christ, i.e., the Eucharistic celebration is "viewed above all as a sacrificial act of the Church made in union with Christ the High Priest" who draws his believers to Himself.<sup>281</sup> Through this reinterpretation, he also missed the Platonic horizon of thought. Ambrose was led to ascribe the change of bread and wine to the words of Christ that were recited during the Institution Narrative. For Ambrose, the words of Christ are creative and have the power to change the Eucharistic elements into his own body and blood. In other words, for Ambrose the change of the nature of the bread and the wine is "in the efficacy of the word of Christ."<sup>282</sup> Ambrose uses the term *figura* to show that the bread and wine are transfigured into the *figura* of Jesus, which happens because of the Word of God.<sup>283</sup> Ambrose takes into account the character of Melchizedek, whose priestly activity he identifies with Christ. Just as Melchizedek offered the bread and wine, Christ offers Himself. In the Eucharist, Christ is given the priestly role of Melchizedek, thus articulating the priestly role in the consecration.<sup>284</sup> Kilmartin cautions that Ambrose's intention was "to attribute the efficacious power of consecration to Christ alone and not to fix the words of Christ as the moment of consecration."<sup>285</sup>

Ambrose's interpretation of the somatic real presence would lead to the narrowing of the Western tradition's understanding of sacrificial concept of the real presence. It means that neither the spiritual tradition of Augustine or Gelasius nor that of the 4<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochenes would become the starting point of the further developments in the West. Instead, the Ambrosian interpretation of the somatic presence and the Eucharistic conversion would be the starting point. Kilmartin concluded that since Ambrose adopted the Antiochene view only partially and isolated it from its original Platonic conceptual framework, his reading of the somatic presence took a rather

<sup>277</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Eucharistic Theology of Pope Gelasius I: A Nontridentine View* ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, Studia Patristica (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 284.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>279</sup> William P. O'Brien, "The Eucharistic Species in Light of Peirce's Sign Theory," *Theological Studies* 75, no. 1 (2014), 80-81.

<sup>280</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 58.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>282</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 419.

<sup>283</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 18.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 262.

<sup>285</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 286.

different trajectory in the Latin speaking world.<sup>286</sup> According to Daly, "in contrast to the Greek Fathers, Ambrose's Eucharistic theology does not have a strong sense of the structure of the Eucharistic Prayer. He thus ends up giving the Eucharistic mystery a very narrow focus on the words of institution. This leads in succeeding centuries to a narrowing of the western eucharistic tradition."<sup>287</sup> The discussion on how this somatic real presence comes about became one of the key differences between the Eucharistic theology of the East and West. We shall come back to this at a later stage while dealing with the differences and changes in the forthcoming subsection.<sup>288</sup>

### 3.4.3.2 Function and Form of the Early EPs: From Meal to Sacrifice

Other developments have to do with the meaning of sacrifice related to Eucharistic practice. Kilmartin indicates an important shift from "fraternal meal"<sup>289</sup> or symbolic festive meal to a form of cultic or ritual sacrifice of praise expressed in the EPs. Kilmartin believes that "an investigation of these prayers shows the gradual growth in the Church's recognition that its 'sacrifice of praise to God, that is, the fruit of lips that acknowledge His name' (Heb. 10: 15) was primarily accomplished in the Eucharistic prayer."<sup>290</sup>

The earliest Eucharists were home gatherings which emphasized table fellowship that came through the meal aspect.<sup>291</sup> The early Christian community came together as one family and the Christians shared their food and drink with thanksgiving. The thanksgiving prayer was said in the first place to "to evoke the presence of Christ as host and nourishment of the meal."<sup>292</sup> Secondly it was said in memory of the redemptive work of Christ.<sup>293</sup> This consecration prayer took place at the end of the meal modeled on the Jewish grace-after-meals.<sup>294</sup> The EPs of the early Church are a witness to this. The prayers, as attested by the *Didache*, Justin, and the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, are full of thanksgiving for the Eucharistic gifts. However, due to fasting regulations, as Kilmartin points out, the meal was dropped or displaced. He takes into consideration Chrysostom's account of Eucharist – the meal was taken after the Eucharist.<sup>295</sup> Kilmartin believes that in this way the character of the Eucharist as a symbolic festive meal was minimized.<sup>296</sup> This resulted in the tendency to more clearly distinguish between the two important aspects of the Eucharist, namely, the

<sup>286</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 15 & 21.

<sup>287</sup> Dolores Lee Greeley, "Early Christian Theology," *CTSA Proceedings* 54, (1999), 160. Greeley summarizes Daly's presentation at the conference on the 'Doctrinal Development in the Early Church'.

<sup>288</sup> See p. 174

<sup>289</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 154.

<sup>290</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 275. This is one of the remarkable observations he makes in his early studies of Volkmann, who made references to the *Didache*, Justin Martyr and Irenaeus to prove that the ancient Church was aware of the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist. Cf. Kilmartin, "Two Lutheran Opinions Concerning the Eucharistic Sacrifice," 46.

<sup>291</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 7.

<sup>292</sup> Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Prayer: Content and Function of Some Early Eucharistic Prayers," 117.

<sup>293</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 158-159.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, 154. This is because the early Christians based themselves to a well-known traditional (Jewish) form of praying which eventually led them to refashion these prayers.

<sup>295</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 275. Also cf. note 23 in the same article.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, 275.

offering of the covenant sacrifice and the communion in the sacrificial meal over which praise and thanksgiving had been proclaimed.<sup>297</sup> In the earlier forms of the Eucharistic celebration "these essential elements, while recognizable, were not so clearly distinguished, nor need they have been for a people who understood the full implications of a covenantal meal."<sup>298</sup>

What becomes clear from these prayers is that the early Christian community recognized the importance of assembling together for Christian worship. They assembled "to worship God in the Spirit of Christ, to support one another's faith and to deepen its union with God through the hearing of the word of God and Eucharistic communion."<sup>299</sup> The early Christian community believed in communion with Christ as the true meaning of the Eucharist. Moreover, the real presence of Christ was experienced "within the whole scope of Christian life."<sup>300</sup> The Eucharistic celebration, which is the "most intensive form of his [Christ's] presence," became a means by which the early Christian community could experience the risen Lord in their Christian life through their act of faith, which is created by Christ Himself. Christ unites the believers "with himself in his continuous worship of his Father and ours."<sup>301</sup> The devout believers who actively engaged themselves in the Eucharistic celebrations considered praise, thanksgiving, intercession and sorrow for sin as personal expressions of their faith.<sup>302</sup> The leader of the early Christian community prayed the EP which "expressed the truth that the liturgical action is first and foremost an act of adoration of God in union with the one Mediator Jesus Christ"<sup>303</sup> and only then followed the Holy Communion. The sharing of the bread and wine, which is designated as the body and blood of Christ, is a sign of the unity of will and intention between Christ and the believers and hence implies a participation in the fruits of Christ's redemptive work.

However, Kilmartin believes that during the 3rd century, sacrificial prayers were introduced in the thanksgiving prayer, which resulted in the prayer itself being called sacrifice.<sup>304</sup> Once the great liturgies developed, especially in the 4<sup>th</sup> century in the East and the West, "the implication of the thanksgiving prayer, spiritual sacrifice and petition for the sacramental incarnation, was gradually articulated by sacrificial prayers and *epiclesis* of consecration. These in turn were given authority by the narrative of institution."<sup>305</sup> Later, consecratory value was given either to the *epiclesis* or the Institution Narrative. The consequence was that the unity of the sacrifice of praise was broken, thanksgiving became a marginal aspect, and the priest became the sole agent.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid.

<sup>298</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 24.

<sup>299</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Basis of Sunday Mass Obligation," *Emmanuel* 81, (1975), 299.

<sup>300</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 237.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid., 236.

<sup>302</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 19.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid., 23-24.

<sup>304</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 278.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid., 287.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid.

### 3.4.4 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN TRADITION

According to Kilmartin there is a basic, common pattern underlying all the EPs: the bipartite *todah* structure. However, this common pattern developed differently in the Eastern and Western traditions on at least two points: 1) the interpretation of the Eucharistic sacrifice, and 2) the role of the Holy Spirit via the *epiclesis*.

The Eastern tradition drew on the theology of the commemorative actual presence of the Cross in the Mass. This concept is "grounded on the Greek symbolic theology in which the symbol participates in reality of the prototype." This sort of theology avoids the danger of "a kind of repeatable new sacrificial act of Christ" in the liturgical celebrations.<sup>307</sup> The West, on the other hand, did not receive this Greek patristic theology.<sup>308</sup> While the Eastern Church continued with the concept of commemoration, in the traditional Latin Church, the opinion on the active presence of Christ varied. In the North African Church, the focus fell on the sacrificial act of the Church in union with Christ. It is the Church which is able to celebrate the true Eucharist of Jesus Christ together with the priests and the faithful as one body. In other words, the North African Church stressed the unity of the Church. By the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the Greek notion of commemorative sacrifice "was no longer present to the Western tradition."<sup>309</sup>

As already noted, behind this difference there were two different interpretations of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist: one proposed by the early Antiochene Fathers and the other, Ambrose's interpretation of the same. When we look at the way Kilmartin picked up on Ambrose's theology of Eucharistic sacrifice, there is an emphasis on the active presence of the Christ as a high priest.<sup>310</sup> In Ambrose's theology, as Kilmartin points out, the priest seems to be the one who makes Christ present and such a concept is nourished by the typical Western way of thinking.<sup>311</sup> Kilmartin's interpretation of Ambrose takes into account what lies beneath his theological thinking. In stressing the *anamnesis*, Kilmartin believes Ambrose was, in fact, stressing the priestly character of the Eucharist and the Church's sharing in that character, which Kilmartin considers to be essential. This is significantly different from the Greek concept of *anamnesis* or commemoration of the sacrifice of the Cross.<sup>312</sup> Kilmartin notes that "on the question of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, Ambrose provides an example of the difference of the orientation between the Eastern and Western traditions."<sup>313</sup> Possibly Ambrose thought that the somatic presence of Jesus makes possible the deepest confrontation with the assembled believers and the gifts. Moreover, Kilmartin believes that Ambrose's understanding of the change of the Eucharistic gifts is a new concept, especially during that period, and one which was further developed later on in the Middle Ages, whilst retaining

<sup>307</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 362.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>310</sup> Kilmartin, "The Formation of the Bread of Life Discourse (John 6)," 63-68; Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Last Supper and the Earliest Eucharists of the Church* ed. P. Benoit and R. Murphy, *The Breaking of the Bread*, vol. 40 Concilium: (New York: Paulist Press, 1969), 35-40; Kilmartin, "The Ministry and the Content of the Christian Message (a Commentary on the General Catechetical Directory of 1971)," 63-75.

<sup>311</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 21.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

Ambrose's teaching as the base, resulting in the stress on the Institution Narrative rather than the *epiclesis*.<sup>314</sup> Kilmartin believes this is most likely the reason why the canon of Ambrose does not have an *epiclesis*, as pointed out by Joseph Schmitz.<sup>315</sup>

Moreover, with the stress on the Institution Narrative, the NT understanding of the spiritual sacrifice of the believers took a new turn. As already explained, the Churches of the East focused on the "commemorative actual presence of the sacrifice of the Cross," while the West focused on the sacrificial action of Christ in the Church's offering and attempted to situate this offering "in a looser relation to that of the historical sacrifice of the cross."<sup>316</sup> It focused on the objective representation of the sacrifice of the Cross in the Mass. Kilmartin believes this is one of the traits of the average theology of the Eucharist.

Besides the problematic issues with the real presence, which became a stage of differences, there is the second question, namely, that of the *epiclesis*. In line with Ambrose, the West focused on the "words of Christ" pushing the *epiclesis* to the background. However, in the East, the *epiclesis* became the culmination point of the EPs. For instance, in the Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil: "We pray and beseech you, O holy of holies, in the good pleasure of your bounty, that your [all-] Holy Spirit may come upon us and these gifts set forth, and bless them and sanctify and make this bread the precious body of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ."<sup>317</sup> Similarly, one is found in the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.<sup>318</sup> In this *anaphora* there is a strong emphasis upon the gifts.<sup>319</sup> The *epiclesis* provides the mooring necessary for participation in divine life, which comes through the action of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy, and which not only sanctifies the bread and wine but also the assembly. According to Kilmartin, the Church of the West at some phase of its history lost its sense of the importance of the *epiclesis*.

From the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the *epiclesis*, which was part of the early EPs, goes missing in the West. According to Kilmartin, the Roman Canon, which would be the basis of the *lex orandi* of the Roman Catholic Church for nearly sixteen decades, does not really have an *epiclesis* in the strict sense.<sup>320</sup> There is no proper mention of the

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<sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>316</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 241-242.

<sup>317</sup> Quoted from Jasper and G.J.Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, 119-120.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid., 133

<sup>319</sup> In the modern EPs of the Roman Catholic Church, however, there are two *epicleses*. For more details cf. Cassian Folsom, "From One Eucharistic Prayer to Many: How It Happened and Why," *Adoremus Bulletin*, Online Ed II, no. 4-6 (1996). This article is available also online. Cassian Folsom, <http://www.adoremus.org/9-11-96-FolsomEuch.html> (accessed 21st March 2016). The petition for the unity of the Church exists already in the prayers of the *Didache*. Cf. Maxwell E. Johnson, *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 2010), 267.

<sup>320</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 369. The Roman Canon reads: "We humbly beseech you, almighty God, bid these things be borne by the hands of your angel to your altar on high, in the sight of your divine majesty, that all of us who have received the most holy body and blood of your Son by partaking at this altar may be filled with all heavenly blessing and grace; through Christ our Lord." Cf. Matthieu Smyth and Paul Bradshaw, "The Anaphora of the So-Called Apostolic Tradition and the Roman Eucharistic Prayer," *Usus Antiquior* 1, no. 1, January (2010), 10.



Holy Spirit,<sup>321</sup> either in relation to the gifts or to the faithful. One of the striking examples of the Eastern Church's influence on the Western Church is seen in the incorporation of a Spirit *epiclesis* into the modern-day EPs of the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>322</sup> For Kilmartin, this is evidence of a renewed discovery of the value of the Eastern tradition and a longing for reunion in the Catholic Church.<sup>323</sup> One may, however, note in the present-day prayers a difference with the Eastern tradition. The Eastern *epiclesis*, which is invoked upon both the gifts and the faithful, has been split into two parts: in a consecration *epiclesis*, which occurs before the Institution Narrative and asks for the transformation of the gifts, and a communion *epiclesis* after the Institution Narrative which asks for the transformation of the believers and their unity in Christ.<sup>324</sup> For Kilmartin, in the double *epiclesis* "the same theology is reflected," no matter whether it is placed before or after the Institution Narrative. Kilmartin writes: "The recitation of the words of Christ [in the Institution Narrative] is a confession of the enduring theandric act of the risen Lord who is personally present in the community celebrating the Eucharist. The *epiclesis* is the confession of the transcendental act by which the Father sends the Spirit to transform the gifts. When the *epiclesis* is placed before the words of Institution, it means that "the theandric act of Christ is clearly seen as sacrament of the sending of the Spirit by the Father. When the *epiclesis* is placed after the words of Institution, the role of the Spirit in the perfecting of the theandric act of Christ is brought to the foreground."<sup>325</sup>

### 3.4.5 RENEWAL OF EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY

Kilmartin, together with Power and Nathan Mitchell, being concerned with the need for the development of an adequate Eucharistic theology,<sup>326</sup> calls for a retrieval of Eucharistic praying, arguing that the Catholic Church should give more importance to

<sup>321</sup> Scholars like Jungmann view the *Quam oblationem* as correlated with the consecratory *epiclesis*. Jungmann says that, "even though the person of the Holy Spirit is not mentioned here, this prayer obviously petitions God to bless these gifts that they may become the body and blood of Christ." Cf. Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass* ed. M. Evans, trans. J. Fernandes (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1976), 194. For Taft, "to denigrate the Roman view that it has no Holy-Spirit *epiclesis* is simply untenable" because the Canon is far more primitive than any *anaphora* which may have an explicitly consecratory spirit *epiclesis*." Cf. Robert F. Taft, "Ecumenical Scholarship and the Catholic-Orthodox Epiclesis Dispute," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 45, no. 1 (1996), 214. Other scholars who support the idea of presence of an implicit *epiclesis* in the Roman Canon are Jardine Grisbrooke and Power. Cf. W. Jardine Grisbrooke, "The New Eucharistic Prayers: An Orthodox Comment," *Liturgy* XXXVII, January (1969), 6. David N. Power, *Theology of the Latin Text and Rite* ed. Edward Foley et al. A Commentary on the Order of Mass of the Roman Missal (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2011), 277.

<sup>322</sup> Barry Hudock, *The Eucharistic Prayer: A User's Guide* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2010), 55.

<sup>323</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Full Participation of Women in the Life of the Church", in *Sexism and Canon Law: Equal Rights and Affirmative Action*, ed. James A. Coriden (New York: Paulist Press, 1977), 128.

<sup>324</sup> Emmanuel Lanne rightly distinguishes between these two types of *epiclesis*: 1) "consecratory" and 2) "communion" *epiclesis*. Cf. Anscar J. Chupungco, *What, Then, Is Liturgy?: Musings and Memoir* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2010), 79. Bradshaw believes that the cause of the "split *epiclesis*" pattern is due to the influence of the classic Alexandrian structure of the EP and also the model expressed in the *Quam oblationem* and *Supplices te rogamus* of the Roman Canon. Cf. Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Eucharistic Liturgies: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2012), 314.

<sup>325</sup> Kilmartin, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit," 253.

<sup>326</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 405-457; David N. Power, *The Eucharistic Mystery: Revitalizing the Tradition* (New York: Crossroad, 1992); Nathan Mitchell, "Who Is at the Table: Reclaiming Real Presence," *Commonweal* 122, no. 27 January (1995), 10-15.

the *lex orandi*, to the way the Church has prayed, especially in earlier times.<sup>327</sup> Kilmartin advocates a retrieval of the old tradition reflected in these classical prayers. These prayers stressed the spiritual sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist, through praise and thanksgiving, and thereby gave better understanding to those partaking because those who did partake did what was preached, i.e., they shared everything with everyone. The Eucharist was seen more as a gift, a spiritual offering whereby people thanked God for the food and shared it among themselves. Kilmartin believes such prayers can strengthen the Church's activity in the Eucharistic celebration and they, therefore, should constitute the basis of the Eucharistic theology of the third millennium rather than focusing on the moment of consecration. Kilmartin argues that our celebration of the liturgy should be "a response of praise and thanksgiving for what God has done and is now doing in the act of worship."<sup>328</sup> The liturgical prayers remind us of the "redemptive work of Christ" and his sending of the Spirit is "to draw the believers into communion with the Father through Christ."<sup>329</sup>

The renewal of Eucharistic theology – in view of the findings stated above by Kilmartin – also sheds new light upon the understanding of the Institution Narrative, and its place in Eucharistic theology. For Kilmartin, the Institution Narrative is part of the *anamnesis*, and the Eucharist, in the absence of the Institution Narratives, is still valid. As a result, Giraudo's work for Kilmartin becomes an important stepping stone to what he had been pursuing. Giraudo pointed to the rôle of the embolism in the OT *todah*, subsequently proposing that it enkindles the purpose of the Institution Narrative within the EP.<sup>330</sup> Giraudo traces this back to Nehemiah who, with the view of petitioning God the Father to do something about the *diaspora*, specifically to return them to their native soil, adds to his petition a significant scriptural quotation which he is convinced will move God to respond, because that Scripture functions as a "prophetic oracle," declaring in advance that God will surely grant it, based on his faithfulness to the covenant He has already made (Neh. 1: 5-11). For Giraudo, just as Nehemiah adds to his petition a prophetic vision in accordance with what God has already assured, believing members of the community also add into their prayer and petition the Institution Narrative, in which the believers remember Jesus' self-

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<sup>327</sup> Geoffrey Wainwright, *Doxology: The Praise of God in Worship, Doctrine and Life* (New York: Oxford University, 1980), Chapters 7 and 8.

<sup>328</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 169.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*, 174.

<sup>330</sup> Whereas Louis Ligier initially works on EPs using the Jewish tradition of *birkat ha-mazon*, Giraudo looks at it from the *todah*; however, both of them independently of each other provide the clues by focussing on the introduction of embolisms in many different Jewish prayers. Ligier highlights that the ending prayer within *birkat ha-mazon* had a permanent construction, however, it contained also an additional prayer especially for grand celebrations such as the *pasch*. Such an addition interrelated the importance of great events in themselves and the significance of a continuous remembrance. Also, it points to God's own commandment of remembering these saving events in the coming generations. Giraudo, on the other hand, in focusing on the psalms as well as the other examples within the Old Testament prayers, highlights the embolisms that direct the repetition of thanksgiving prayers for particular gatherings, due to their importance within the redemption story. Among the various articles see, especially, Louis Ligier, "The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer: From the Last Supper to Eucharist," *Studia Liturgica* 9, no. 4 (1973), 161-185, and for the original in French cf. Louis Ligier, "Les origines de la prière eucharistique," *Questions Liturgiques* 53, (1972), 181-202.

offering.<sup>331</sup> The Institution Narrative, for Giraudo, links the *anamnetic* and *epicletic* sections of the EPs and is an embolism.

Kilmartin believes that the *anamnesis* is actually *epicletic* in nature.<sup>332</sup> Therefore, it is not necessary to strongly emphasize it. It is important to move past the moment of consecration theology and seek to recover the pneumatological dimension of the entire EP. Kilmartin argues that the Institution Narrative is only a part of the larger prayer, which extends beyond the words spoken by Jesus to the bestowal of the Spirit upon the gifts and the assembly. Therefore, Kilmartin would say, the *anamnesis* is *epicletic* in nature because the EP is to be taken as a whole which consecrates. It works as a prayer which invites the community to join Jesus in his self-giving sacrifice to the Father. Instead of dissolving the unity into separate units, the EPs should be taken as a whole unit, from start to finish since Christ is present throughout the liturgy.<sup>333</sup> Kilmartin thus appreciates and leans towards the Eastern liturgy, which maintains the whole EP as one unit.

According to Kilmartin, the Institutional Narrative has a "complex function."<sup>334</sup> It is possible to place it either before or after the thanksgiving prayer to serve the same function.<sup>335</sup> Therefore, it does not appear "either necessary or advisable" to regard it as something that works as a single unit with a specific function. Kilmartin agrees that the Institution Narrative enjoys a special place in the EPs of the Church today because "what is done in the Eucharist is the Church's offering of bread and wine with thanksgiving and the reception of the gifts as 'antitypes' of the body and blood. Since this doing is the fulfillment of the command of Christ, the narrative of institution is given a central place."<sup>336</sup> However, there are EPs which do not contain an Institution Narrative. Giraudo believed "the crucial point of the declaration [of the Vatican] concerns the problem of the validity of the Eucharist celebrated with the *anaphora* of Addai and Mari."<sup>337</sup> For Kilmartin, the Eucharist of the *Didache* is as valid as the Eucharist of today. Hence, the *anaphoras* without the Institution Narrative can be valid.

### 3.4.6 CONCLUSION

We have been exploring Kilmartin's view on the structure, content, developments, and changes of the early EPs. His analysis of these prayers reveals the shift in the sacrificial meanings respectively in the East and the West, which is vital to this study. What becomes clear as we trace the development of the EP is that there is a unified tradition in the earlier periods, with a bipartite structure stressing the *anamnesis-epiclesis* pattern forming a concept of covenantal relationship. The EPs also included

<sup>331</sup> For more detail cf. Cesare Giraudo, "Confession of Sins in the Old Testament," *Concilium* 190, (1987), 85-95.

<sup>332</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 349.

<sup>333</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 237-241.

<sup>334</sup> Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Prayer: Content and Function of Some Early Eucharistic Prayers," 120.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>336</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 279.

<sup>337</sup> Giraudo, "Recognition of the Orthodoxy of the Most Ancient Eucharistic Prayer," 2. Giraudo believes that Addai (or Thaddeus) and Mari, while not recorded officially, are the followers and the companions of the Apostle Thomas in the proclamation of the Gospel in the East.

Trinitarian concepts and sacrificial meanings from thanksgiving to ritualistic sacrifice. However, the evolution also gives rise to various other issues at least from the 4th century onwards. The insertion of the Institution Narrative triggered discussions surrounding real presence. It gave rise, more specifically, to the 4<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene doctrine of somatic real presence which, according to Kilmartin, is not found in important theologians of the time, such as Augustine, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Pope Gelasius. Ambrose adopted it, but he interpreted it in his own way. Thereby he strongly stressed Christ as the one who consecrates, bringing the assembly into deepest confrontation with Him. According to Kilmartin, his interpretation led, in the Latin Church, to a very narrow focus on the words of Institution while neglecting the significance of the role of the Holy Spirit.

### 3.5 A TRINITARIAN MODEL OF AUTHENTIC SACRIFICE

In this key section, we shall discuss Kilmartin's definition of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice, followed by an interpretation of the same. Kilmartin uses the expression "authentic theology of the Eucharist" in contrast to his understanding of the modern-day theology of the Eucharist, which he terms "average." Kilmartin hopes that his theology of authentic sacrifice will make the believers' participation in the Eucharist both easier and more direct. Otherwise, he believes, for many, participation in the Eucharistic sacrifice will remain meaningless. Kilmartin recognizes the contribution of modern liturgiologists, who have made the recovery of the authentic meaning of liturgy possible based on their reflection on "authentic Christian life."<sup>338</sup> The sacrificial aspect of the Trinity "provides modern Eucharistic theology with a way of expressing the very core of the meaning of the Eucharist."<sup>339</sup>

#### 3.5.1 THE DEFINITION OF THE TRINITARIAN MODEL OF AUTHENTIC SACRIFICE & INITIAL ANALYSIS

Kilmartin's most explicit definition of Christian sacrifice is as follows:

Sacrifice is not, in the first place, an activity of human beings directed to God and, in the second place, something that reaches its goal in the response of the divine acceptance and bestowal of divine blessing on the cultic community. Rather, sacrifice in the New Testament understanding – and thus in its Christian understanding – is, in the first place, the self-offering of the Father in the gift of his Son, and in the second place the unique response of the Son in his humanity to the Father, and in the third place, the self-offering of believers in union with Christ by which they share in his covenant relation with the Father.<sup>340</sup>

Kilmartin never expanded on these three Trinitarian movements of the definition of authentic sacrifice in his writings. But we shall use them as the framework for our

<sup>338</sup> Kilmartin, "The Achievement of Sacrosanctum Concilium," 565. Also cf. Kilmartin, "Pastoral Office and the Eucharist," 312.

<sup>339</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 9.

<sup>340</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 382.

systematic reconstruction of Kilmartin's theology of the Eucharist as sacrifice. As mentioned earlier, Kilmartin's views on what he calls "authentic sacrifice" are still open for discussion due to his sudden death. Our attempt to systematically reconstruct the content of his model of authentic sacrifice in the following sections will also imply an interpretation, explanation, justification, and expansion of Kilmartin's views.

In the section that follows, we shall break Kilmartin's definition into separate elements in order to better and more logically analyse them, allowing us to arrive at an explicit explanation and interpretation of his theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice in light of what has already been said about his analyses of the EPs and his systematic-theological key concepts of the Trinitarian bestowal model, pneumatology, ecclesiology, and theology of the priesthood. Kilmartin suggests that if one can understand sacrifice from the Trinitarian model, the authenticity of sacrifice can be guaranteed. Kilmartin's definition of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice, although divided into three elements or phrases, should be read as one single whole, because it is only through the third phrase of the definition, which is the response of humanity to God's invitation of self-giving love, that the definition is completed and can be justified as "authentic sacrifice."

In his definition of authentic sacrifice, Kilmartin distinguishes between what authentic sacrifice is and is not. First and foremost, he focuses on what it is not. By so doing, he is already taking a definitive stance against misunderstandings and issues previously connected with sacrifice. According to Kilmartin, sacrifice begins not with humanity, but with divine activity. In order to clarify this, it is important to recall the general anthropological view of sacrifice, as explored in the first chapter, according to which sacrifice is something that people offer up for the sake of a greater cause or ideal. Kilmartin disagrees with this sense of sacrifice in relation to God's sacrifice, which he considers the source of authentic sacrifice. If authentic sacrifice is something that originates from God, then the anthropological and general understanding of sacrifice, which always implies a *do ut des*, a contract by which something is given in order that something be given in return, is not authentic. This excludes sacrifice in the general sense of the word from the Christian sacrifice. However, the concept of gift-giving is something that he appreciates. The gift is, first of all, interpreted not in the sense of a material thing, but as the self-gift of a person.

Applying his idea of authentic sacrifice beginning with God to the sacrament of the Eucharist, Kilmartin claims that the liturgy of the Eucharist must be approached from the understanding that it is God who is in charge.<sup>341</sup> According to Kilmartin, the source of authentic sacrifice is something that belongs to God alone, in the sense that it begins with God. The Trinitarian model that he proposes highlights the personal communion of God with human beings. This authentic sacrifice involves three movements: two from God's side – 1) from the Father and 2) from the Son in his humanity – and one from the believers' side. Among the three movements, "the aspect of the initiative of the Father is important" because the sacrifice of the Son

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<sup>341</sup> Summarizing the works of Kilmartin, Cameron-Mowat endorses his views: "The gain of his [Kilmartin's] Trinitarian model is that it reminds us of the inner power at work, in God at one level, and in us at another." Cf. Andrew Cameron-Mowat, "Liturgical Theology: Who's in Charge," *The Way* (1995), 333.

rests on the Father's initiative.<sup>342</sup> The union of the believers with the Father depends on their grasp of the Son's sacrifice towards the Father. It is through their intrinsic relation with the Son's sacrificial act that believers have an ultimate union with God. An important difference between the sacrifice of self-gift of the Father and the Son and the sacrifice of the believers is that "God's offer of self-communion is total and perfect" but the believers is not, at least until the eschaton.<sup>343</sup>

### 3.5.1.1 Three Initial Problems with the Definition

Before analyzing each of the three parts of the definition in detail in the remainder of this chapter, it is necessary to point out elements that, upon first sight, seem to be missing or excluded in Kilmartin's definition. Firstly, Kilmartin terms his theology of authentic sacrifice "Trinitarian." However, Kilmartin's definition seems somewhat confusing because the name and the person of the Holy Spirit are missing. How could the word 'Trinitarian' be employed to refer to something where the third person of the Trinity is lacking? Is this an illustration of the *Geistveressenheit* (forgetfulness of the Holy Spirit), which allegedly is characteristic of Western theology? As we shall see later, Kilmartin elaborates on the role of the Spirit in the context of his Spirit-Christology and his ecclesiology.<sup>344</sup>

Secondly, Kilmartin's definition also gives the impression that sacrifices people make towards each other are irrelevant, for instance, the mother who sacrifices food for her children, the neighbour who sacrifices his time in caring for others, etc. According to Kilmartin, authentic sacrifice is about people offering themselves to God, but from the definition it seems as if a person's sacrifice towards a fellow human is something that does not matter. We shall return to this issue later, after having analysed Kilmartin's definition in greater detail.<sup>345</sup>

There is one further missing element in Kilmartin's definition. This can be sensed in the conclusion he draws on the incarnation of Christ. If one asserts that the salvation of humanity was based solely on God's initiative, then there is an inclination detectable in Kilmartin that creates tension between God's initiative and our human response. It sounds as though human beings are not responsible for their salvation, only God is. If such a concept is applied to the Eucharist where, for Kilmartin, a communication between God and humanity is mediated through Christ, then our communication with Christ and God becomes meaningless because God is then in charge of everything that occurs in the Eucharist, leaving believers with no part to play. God becomes the sole giver, rendering humankind utterly passive, not contributing in any way to its own salvation. It also implies that our act of 'thanksgiving' is not constitutive of our redemption but only a reaction in hindsight. The view that only God acts in the Christian sacrifice brings impediments to understanding the Eucharist also as a sacrifice of the Church, something we give to God in thanksgiving and in memory of what Christ achieved for us through his redemptive works. In that sense, there seems to be an ambiguity about the Church's

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<sup>342</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 8.

<sup>343</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 166.

<sup>344</sup> See p. 191 & 199.

<sup>345</sup> See p. 217.

celebration of the Eucharist in Kilmartin's definition. If we say God is in full control of the Eucharist, there is a tendency to minimize the role of the believers. Yet, for Kilmartin, our encounter with God comes through the intensity of our personal faith in Christ.<sup>346</sup> On the other hand, any perspective on the Eucharist as a human action that operates on God, making Him more gracious or deflecting his rage, is perhaps even more problematic.

### 3.5.1.2 The Bestowal Model as Basis for Authentic Sacrifice

In his later works, Kilmartin interpreted authentic sacrifice using the Trinitarian bestowal model as his basis. This model has implications for the concept of authentic sacrifice that involves God and humanity through Christ in the Church in the Spirit, and it constitutes the backbone of his view on authentic sacrifice. Within the context of Eucharistic sacrifice, Kilmartin uses the key term *kenosis* to apply the bestowal model and to explain the inner Trinitarian relationships and the missions in the economic Trinity. It is with regard to the latter, which is on the level of the economic Trinity, that *kenosis* makes clear the meaning of authentic sacrifice. Taking his clues from Von Balthasar, Kilmartin explains the *kenosis* of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in the immanent Trinity. He also explains the *kenosis* of the Trinitarian persons in the economic Trinity. In fact, the economic Trinity is "one of the possibilities" of actualization of the *kenosis* within the immanent Trinity.<sup>347</sup> In the immanent Trinity, "the eternal generation of the Son, and the procession of the Spirit, must be understood as self-emptying."<sup>348</sup> The *kenosis* of the Father is revealed in his love for the Son. Kilmartin notes that the Father's love involves an absolute love: "As absolute Love, the Father gives away all, and the Son is generated" on the level of immanent Trinity.<sup>349</sup> In the economic Trinity, the *kenosis* of the Father is revealed in the incarnation of Jesus. The *kenosis* of the Son in the immanent Trinity is revealed in his response: "The Son, in turn, responds with an eternal thanksgiving, a total self-giving."<sup>350</sup> Moreover, on the level of economic Trinity, the *kenosis* of the Son is revealed in his incarnation as well as in the acceptance of the Cross. The *kenosis* of the Holy Spirit is inwardly related to the *kenosis* of the Son in his incarnation, and then continues in his new life in the glorious body and ends with the Pentecost: "The self-emptying of the Spirit [in the economic Trinity] began with the incarnation, and continued when the Spirit took up the dead flesh of Jesus and bound it living to the Word... [and] is complete in the third Pentecost" when the believers are bound to the dead and risen Christ.<sup>351</sup> The *kenosis* of the Spirit is clearly understood in the bestowal model in which the Father gives Himself in the Spirit to the Son and the Son's response to the Father is given in the Spirit.

Unlike the birth of every human being, the birth of Jesus is unique because it unites Jesus' humanity to the divine Logos through the mediation of the Holy Spirit. This union – of human and divine person in Jesus – points to the fact that the Spirit had a

<sup>346</sup> We shall discuss this in the third movement. See p. 192.

<sup>347</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 119.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

role “in the first *kenosis*,” which is the incarnation of Christ.<sup>352</sup> For Kilmartin, this also indicates the self-emptying (*kenosis*) of the Spirit. According to the bestowal model, “in the special mission of the Word, the Holy Spirit is the divine source of the sanctification of the humanity of Jesus of Nazareth by which that humanity was elevated to unity of person with the Word.”<sup>353</sup> Uniqueness here comes from the unique way in which the humanity of Jesus is united to the Logos, viz., the hypostatic union.

Applying the bestowal model and the notion of ‘*kenosis*’ on the level of the economic Trinity makes clear that, for Kilmartin, the word ‘sacrifice’ finds greater meaning first of all in the self-giving love of the Father, who gives Himself in the Son to the world out of his selfless love for us. He does so in order that we might be presented to Him through the humanity of Jesus in the Spirit. For Kilmartin, authentic sacrifice begins with God and also completes in God, just as the story of redemption begins with Him and ends in Him. From the perspective of salvation history, the kenotic self-offering of the Father in sending the Son finds its first completion in the kenotic self-offering of the Son in his human nature on the Cross, but it does not end there. The kenotic self-offerings of the Father and the Son demand a response on the part of the believers on being touched by the Spirit. We can say that Kilmartin, by using the bestowal model on the level of the economic Trinity, is suggesting a spiritual process of self-emptying or *kenosis* also on the part of the believers. For Kilmartin, the self-giving love of the Father is intended for the sharing of his life with the Church through Jesus in the Spirit. Kevin Seasoltz writes, “God lives primarily for giving, giving to the extent of giving his only Son who in turns gives the fullness of his life for his people.”<sup>354</sup> This is the sense Kilmartin is trying to project in his work.

Another way to describe the backbone of Kilmartin’s view on authentic sacrifice is the distinction between the *katabatic* and *anabatic* movements. As we saw earlier, this can very well also be applied to salvation history, the Eucharist, the priesthood, and to Christ. In salvation history, God sends his Son [*katabatic*] so that redemption could be initiated for the whole of humanity through Jesus. By responding to Him in faith [*anabatic*], believers can re-establish their covenant with God once again. Applying these movements to the Eucharist, the presence of Jesus is brought out in the Eucharist through the Holy Spirit [*katabatic*], and through the power of the Holy Spirit we, who are symbolically offered in the form of bread and wine, are returned to God [*anabatic*] through Jesus’ sacrifice in the Spirit. Applying this concept to priesthood, we can say that whereas the *katabatic* movement is reflected in the priest acting *in persona Christi*, the *anabatic* is reflected in the priest acting *in persona ecclesiae*. From the Christological perspective, descending Logos-Christology represents the *katabatic* movement of the *kenosis* of the eternal Son through the incarnation, while Spirit-Christology refers to the *anabatic* movement of Jesus’ human faith in and obedience to the Father.

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<sup>352</sup> Ibid., 185.

<sup>353</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 356.

<sup>354</sup> Kevin Seasoltz, *God’s Gift Giving: In Christ and through the Spirit* (Indiana University: Continuum, 2007), 235.



### 3.5.2 THE FIRST MOVEMENT: THE SELF OFFERING OF THE FATHER

Kilmartin does not elaborate in great detail on the first part of the definition of authentic sacrifice. He characterizes the “self-offering of the Father” through three key terms: divine self-communication, covenant, and love.

#### 3.5.2.1 Divine Self-Communication

Kilmartin begins his definition of authentic sacrifice in a Caselian fashion,<sup>355</sup> i.e., he begins with the mystery of the Triune God, as does Rahner in his theological outlook on divine self-communication.<sup>356</sup> Hence, one can assume that Kilmartin relies on both of these scholars for his starting points. However, he is much more explicit in connecting how the Triune God communicates Himself to humanity with the sacrificial celebration of the Eucharist than are Casel and Rahner. As we saw before, Casel did not clearly outline how the participating assembly is united to Christ in the Eucharist, while Rahner seems to interpret sacrifice, or at least to begin its interpretation, from the perspective of natural sacrifice. Kilmartin, in his definition, in contrast, explains God’s self-communication in the Eucharist meaningfully through the mission of the Son and the Spirit.

Kilmartin writes that God’s initiative in sending his Son Jesus is to fill the world with his presence through Jesus, so that “all creation bears the mark of God’s love for humanity, the crown of creation.”<sup>357</sup> We have already considered this point in some detail while discussing the “sacramentality of creation.”<sup>358</sup> The ultimate goal of humanity is to be united with God. Human beings are made to bear the mark of God’s love. Our whole identity comes from God’s own self-gift of love with which He wants us to be filled. We cannot reach Him by our own natural powers, which, moreover, are weakened because of sin.

According to Kilmartin, first of all, God the Father communicates Himself in sacrifice to the entire world by giving the Logos, who took flesh in Jesus. Secondly, and correspondingly, God also communicates Himself through other human beings in Christ and necessitates their response through Christ.<sup>359</sup> We shall deal with the second point while dealing with the third movement.<sup>360</sup> According to the former, the Logos is the perfect image of God’s own self. In the words of Kilmartin, “the Word is the ‘real symbol’ of the Father.”<sup>361</sup> From the above it becomes clear that self-communication of God is realized historically by means of human communication.<sup>362</sup>

The self-offering or *kenosis* of the Father has two aspects. Taking his clues from Von Balthasar, Kilmartin mentions the sacrifice of the Father first of all as “not holding on

<sup>355</sup> Casel, *The Mystery of Christian Worship*, cf. chapter one.

<sup>356</sup> David Coffey, “The Palamite Doctrine of God: A New Perspective,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (1988), 334-342. See Coffey’s presentation of Rahner’s views on page 339.

<sup>357</sup> Kilmartin, “Theology of the Sacraments,” 158.

<sup>358</sup> See p. 98.

<sup>359</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 9.

<sup>360</sup> See p. 188.

<sup>361</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 106.

<sup>362</sup> Kilmartin, “Theology of the Sacraments,” 151.

to the Son.”<sup>363</sup> Secondly, the self-offering of the Father is also revealed in the handing over his Son to embrace the Cross.<sup>364</sup> The Father’s self-gift in the Son in fact reveals the Father’s “love for the world.”<sup>365</sup> These two elements of the *kenosis* of the Father (“not holding on” and “handing over”) correspond to the *kenosis* of the Son. In the economic Trinity, when the first element of the *kenosis* of the Father (“not holding on”) is realized, it results in the incarnation of the divine Son, who assumes his humanity. Endorsing the views of Von Balthasar, Kilmartin hints that the incarnation of the divine Son in itself is a *kenosis* (first) of the Son because it involves the Son’s “letting go of his glory” based on the Scripture passage Phil. 2. 6-9. Kilmartin thinks that Von Balthasar neglects to explain the *kenosis* of the Son based on Phil. 2. 6-7.<sup>366</sup> By becoming human flesh in the womb of Mary, the Son initiates the total self-emptying of his glory.<sup>367</sup> The *kenosis* of the Father (the handing over of the Son) and that of the Son (letting go of his glory) are closely related and are, so to say, two sides of the same coin. When the second element of the *kenosis* of the Father’s “handing over” is realized, it results in the *kenosis* (second) of the human Son who gives Himself totally on the Cross. Hence, the Son’s *kenosis* of incarnation and the *kenosis* of the Cross relate to the *kenosis* of the Father. It is the latter, which constitutes the second movement in Kilmartin’s definition of authentic sacrifice, that is the response of the Son in his human nature. Kilmartin substantiates his views on the “Father’s turning towards us” with various NT quotations like, Lk. 22:19; Jn. 3.16; Rom. 8:32; 2 Cor. 5: 18-19. Also, through these quotations, Kilmartin proves the authenticity of sacrifice traced in the Scripture.<sup>368</sup> Furthermore, Kilmartin elaborates the self-offering of the Father by sending the Son in terms of a “covenant.”

### 3.5.2.2 The Covenantal Relationship of the Father through Jesus

When Kilmartin speaks of the Father’s self-giving in the person of Jesus his Son, he describes it within the paradigm of a “covenantal relationship.” Kilmartin says, “the special mission of the Word...[is] the expression of the Father’s fidelity to his covenant.”<sup>369</sup> This makes clear that he had covenantal theology in the forefront of his thinking as he formed the first part of his definition. Furthermore, for him, salvation history, according to the Letter to the Hebrews, began with the covenant with Abraham and extended beyond Israel through Jesus. Kilmartin does not think that God’s covenant with Israel was revoked; through the sending of the Son it was extended to all humanity. Kilmartin affirms that from the NT point of view, the special history of salvation, which began with the covenant with Abraham, continues with the new covenant in Jesus.<sup>370</sup> At the same time, Kilmartin rules out the possibility of returning back to the old covenant. While the blood of Christ has sealed the old covenant of the blood, his blood also “remains as its perpetual support.”<sup>371</sup> The

<sup>363</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 119.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid.*, 119. Cf. note 16 on page 123 in the same book. For Kilmartin’s own explanation, cf. page 59.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>368</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 8-9.

<sup>369</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 356.

<sup>370</sup> Kilmartin, “Theology of the Sacraments,” 153. Kilmartin, “Eucharist as Sacrifice,” 609.

<sup>371</sup> Kilmartin, “A First Century Chalice Dispute,” 406.

new covenant correlates to the concept of covenant used in Jeremiah 31:31 and is written "in the heart."<sup>372</sup> This covenant is a "definitive" one.

The initiative of the new covenant comes from the Father's side because we human beings are by nature and by sin imperfect and always in need of his grace. Therefore, any initiative from the human side can never be perfect. There must be someone capable of fulfilling God's covenant for us. The coming of Christ in the person of Jesus realizes this fulfilment. Jesus responds to God on our behalf for the sake of this covenant. Kilmartin says Jesus, "the called representative of all mankind, offered [Himself] to the Father which culminated in the voluntary surrender to the death of the cross" and established a "new and definitive covenant between God and man."<sup>373</sup> Jesus stands as the "new Moses" establishing the new covenant.<sup>374</sup> This, Kilmartin suggests, is the personal mission of Christ. The purpose of the new covenant is that it "gives true knowledge of God and the ability for proper relations between God and mankind and between men themselves."<sup>375</sup>

### 3.5.2.3 The Overflowing Supreme Love of the Father

Daly, who follows Kilmartin closely, attempts to explain this first movement of authentic sacrifice in Kilmartin's definition through the concept of motive. Within the natural sacrifice made by human beings, there is always a motive attached. However, the self-offering of the Father in giving his only Son is not made in any way out of self-interest. It is a perfect, selfless sacrifice. The initiative, for Daly, comes from the very depth of God's own nature and will.<sup>376</sup> This leads to the conclusion of Jesus being sent by the Father, out of his selfless love, for the work of redemption. For Kilmartin, even the creation of the entire world is without selfish motives. God did not create the world to draw "personal benefit from the act of creation." The only motive He has is "to communicate His gifts."<sup>377</sup> Personal encounter with Him is his gift for human beings.<sup>378</sup> God gives this gift of Jesus not out of any inner necessity or need but out of his pure and perfect love. Such a sacrificial act, emerging from his pure love for humanity is, therefore, a gift of uncontaminated grace. Humanity can do nothing to deserve this authentic grace. It is a true sacrifice "grounded on the movement of God," i.e., God's gift of Jesus to us.<sup>379</sup>

<sup>372</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist and Community," 89.

<sup>373</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 5.

<sup>374</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 57.

<sup>375</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist and Community," 89.

<sup>376</sup> Daly, "Sacrifice Unveiled or Sacrifice Revisited," 28. There are many other scholars who would propose similar opinions concerning the initiative of God's supreme love that involves no selfishness. Cf. Peter Kreeft, *The God Who Loves You: "Love Divine, All Loves Excelling"* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2004), 104; Thomas Acklin, *The Passion of the Lamb: The Self-Giving Love of Jesus* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Servan Books, 2006), 62; Keenan, *The Question of Sacrifice*, 1; Vincent Brümmer, *The Model of Love: A Study in Philosophical Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1993), 163.

<sup>377</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 3.

<sup>378</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>379</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 197.

### 3.5.2.4 Conclusion on the First Movement

The two sections above (3.5.1 & 3.5.2) have given an overall account of Kilmartin's definition of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice and an explanation of the first part of the definition, the self-offering of the Father. By beginning with God's activity towards humanity, Kilmartin eliminates the general anthropological understanding of sacrifice. However, a first analysis of the definition also shows three initial problems: the Spirit is not mentioned, inter-human sacrifice seems irrelevant, and human activity seems to be ignored. We shall come back to these issues shortly. As to the first movement – the Father's self-offering in the mission of the Son – we saw that Kilmartin uses three key terms: divine self-communication, covenant, and love.

### 3.5.3 *THE SECOND MOVEMENT: THE UNIQUE RESPONSE OF THE SON IN HIS HUMANITY*

Earlier, while discussing the first movement of authentic sacrifice, we spoke of God's gift of Himself. For Kilmartin, a gift is not just about receiving but also about giving. In the gift of his Son to humanity, God has expressed his pure love. It is important that there is a response from the human side. This happens first of all by Jesus in his humanity, and only after Him by the human believers. According to Kilmartin, the second movement of authentic sacrifice is "the unique response of the Son in his humanity to the Father." This means that the authentic sacrifice does not merely stop with the self-giving love of the Father in the person of Jesus but continues with the unique response of the Son. One can see two poles in Kilmartin's formulation: God's self-communication and the human response.

In an attempt to assert the uniqueness of Jesus Christ's response, Kilmartin, in the second phrase of the definition, carefully chooses the words, emphasizing the humanity of Jesus, and, hence, the formulation: "unique response of the Son in his humanity." A detailed interpretation will be helpful to better understand the theological enterprise involved. Since the understanding of a human being in general involves questions about human activity consisting of love, faith, hope, and a common aspiration, it would be interesting to see what qualifications Kilmartin sets forth in his interpretations of Jesus' human response.

There are four key ideas that one can find in the way Kilmartin talks about the second movement. First of all, the second movement is about the response of the *Son in his humanity*, i.e., it is through Jesus' human response that He responds to the Father. This human response consists of faith, love, and obedience. Secondly, this response is *unique* because it is 'total', 'fully realized', 'perfect', 'absolute' (in contrast with ours). This unique response consists also of the historical *transitus* of Jesus. Thirdly, this response comes through the *Spirit* (Spirit Christology). Related to this is the sending of the Spirit to the believers by the glorified Son, which will be discussed in the third movement. Fourthly, this response reveals the fulfilment of the covenant through Jesus.

### 3.5.3.1 The Son's Human Response

In his theology of authentic sacrifice, Kilmartin often refers to the faith of Jesus. Theologians before him, like Von Balthasar, also insisted that Jesus had faith and that He imparts his faith to others. Jesus is called the "pioneer" of our faith.<sup>380</sup> He *gives* this faith to others. The transition from *faith of Jesus* to *faith in Jesus* comes about by our "nearness to and distance from Christ." The Church is already participating in this commitment of faith. Christ, the mediator, is able to transcend everything, not only "morally" but much more "ontically."<sup>381</sup> Von Balthasar argues that while Christ and humans both have faith, the faith of Christ is qualitatively different from ours.<sup>382</sup> Moreover, Von Balthasar presents our faith as something that precedes, that "makes possible," our participation in the response of Christ, i.e., our faith works as a kind of "necessary condition" for participation.<sup>383</sup> Taking his cue from Von Balthasar, Kilmartin grounds his theology of the Christian life not on *faith in Jesus* but rather on the *faith of Jesus*. This is because "the faith of Christ himself belongs to the mystery of God in Christ [and that] His response of faith is [a] unique response."<sup>384</sup> For Kilmartin, the human acts of Jesus belong to his human nature and therefore should not be "confounded with the divine nature .... Though personalized by the Logos, the acts of the humanity of Christ follow the condition of this humanity characterized by its peculiar supernatural gifts."<sup>385</sup>

The obedience of faith is visible in all that Jesus spoke and did. So, by expressing Himself in obedience to God by his words and actions, Jesus "expressed God Himself." God's glory came forth into the world "through the exercise of Jesus' obedience."<sup>386</sup> Jesus' obedience unto death on the Cross is his final historical response to the God of love and it ultimately reveals God's love for the world.<sup>387</sup> In other words, in his own human nature and through his free response, He reveals the self-giving love of the Father.

In his humanity, Jesus responds towards the selfless love of the Father in faith unconditionally and goes to the extent of giving Himself unto death on the Cross. Everything that Jesus carried out by means of a visible form of sacrifice reveals his interior self-giving to the Father through the Spirit. Instead of being preoccupied with Himself, Jesus communicated Himself in obedience of faith and love to the Father and was, in that obedience, fully willing to accept agonizing self-renunciation and thereby fulfil the will of God the Father. According to Kilmartin, Christ's "attitude" emerges

<sup>380</sup> Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Fides Christi: An Essay on the Consciousness of Christ*, Explorations in Theology, vol. II (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1991), 78.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-79.

<sup>382</sup> For more information on Von Balthasar's description of faith of Jesus cf. Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Descent into Hell*, trans. Edward T. Oakes, Spirit and Institution: Exploration in Theology, vol. IV (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1974), 401-414; Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Does Jesus Know Us: Do We Know Him?*, trans. Graham Harrison (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1983); Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Dramatis personae: persons in Christ*, trans. Graham Harrison, Theo-Drama: Theological Dramatic Theory, vol. III (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1992).

<sup>383</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 454-455. Kilmartin would object to Von Balthasar on this view. See p. 199.

<sup>384</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 301.

<sup>385</sup> Kilmartin's view within the quotation comes forth from his criticism of Schillebeeckx's work. Cf. Kilmartin, "Review of Le Christ, sacrement de la rencontre de Dieu, by E. Schillebeeckx," 480.

<sup>386</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 64.

<sup>387</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 286.

from his response of faith, which includes love, hope, and trust, and is complete in his selfless sacrifice in obedience to the Father. Christ's human response ("faith") does not only consist of love for, but also knowledge of, the Father. This faith of Jesus Christ earns Him the special knowledge and love of the Father.<sup>388</sup> In his humanity, the Son knows the Father and loves Him. "The state of having this knowledge and love, which is called the life of faith, expresses itself in acts of the life of faith."<sup>389</sup>

### 3.5.3.2 Unique Response

Kilmartin affirms that just as a human being finds God and holds on to God, Jesus in his humanity also does this yet He also remains unique. In his fidelity to the Father, Jesus responds to all that the Father requires from Him.<sup>390</sup> He is able to do this because He has humbled Himself to "work as Servant."<sup>391</sup> His absolute obedience is the place of God's presence for humanity.<sup>392</sup>

Jesus responds to the Father in his faith. This response of Jesus is unique because it consists in perfect and exemplary faith, unlike ours. His love is a perfect selfless love. In this way, Kilmartin distinguishes between the perfect love of Jesus and that of other human beings who receive the grace of Christ. In his article, "Sacraments as the Liturgy of the Church," Kilmartin writes that the "uniqueness consists in the 'incarnation' of the substantial love of the Son for the Father in Christ's human love, i.e., the response of the Son in his humanity to the love of the Father."<sup>393</sup> In giving Himself totally on the Cross, "his divine sonship [Jesus as the incarnate Son of the Father] was fully realized to the limits of the possibility in his life."<sup>394</sup>

Jesus' uniqueness is also rooted in the fact that He is a "unique revealer" who reconciles God and humankind, according to the Gospel of John.<sup>395</sup> The revelation as well as the mode of revelation is "unique" in Jesus.<sup>396</sup> In the revelation of God, Jesus manifests God perfectly. Jesus is not merely a unique messenger between God and the Church but is actually the "unique Son of God,"<sup>397</sup> the only-begotten. For Kilmartin, as explained already, this uniqueness involves the Son's unique incarnation – both as to his birth and as to his unique response to God in substantial faith – and his revelation of God. Jesus is the "final revelation of God in history. In his words, actions and person, Jesus reveals God to the 'fullest way'."<sup>398</sup>

The unique response of the Son involves more than just the incarnation and revelation.<sup>399</sup> The unique response involves also the *transitus* of Jesus. The *transitus*

<sup>388</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 542.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid.*, 541.

<sup>390</sup> *Ibid.*, 541.

<sup>391</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 269.

<sup>392</sup> Kilmartin, "When Is Marriage a Sacrament?" 279.

<sup>393</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 542.

<sup>394</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 154.

<sup>395</sup> Kilmartin, "Bread from Heaven," 13. Also cf. Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 64-65.

<sup>396</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 75.

<sup>397</sup> Kilmartin, "Bread from Heaven," 13-14.

<sup>398</sup> Kilmartin, "When Is Marriage a Sacrament?" 279.

<sup>399</sup> 'Incarnation' does not refer here to the divine Logos becoming human, but to Christ's human love for (or faith in) God.

of Jesus in itself is a very unique event. For Kilmartin, it means the transition by the human Jesus "from the world to the Father."<sup>400</sup> It means that Jesus Christ passed from death to life, from time to eternity and from corruption and suffering to glory. The human Jesus has already made his *transitus*. In the *transitus* the humanity of Jesus continues in his glorious body. Scripture teaches that there is a "single *transitus* of Jesus" from his suffering to glory.<sup>401</sup> The single *transitus* of Jesus includes, therefore, both suffering and death and the Easter event of the resurrection and glorification.<sup>402</sup> Relating to the NT witness, Kilmartin notes that the *transitus* of the Son to the Father is the "ultimate meaning of the world"<sup>403</sup> because it is through Jesus' single *transitus* that "the Father saves humanity by drawing human beings into... Christ."<sup>404</sup> The body of Christ, which is alive and which now continues to live for eternity, becomes a source of life for others.<sup>405</sup> While the historical living of Jesus was completed within history, it remains for all people of all times the "the instrumental cause of conformity to Christ" as God from within his eternity bestows the human response of the now glorified Christ on the believers.<sup>406</sup> This means that the *transitus* itself is not a historical event: the glorification of Christ in itself "does not take place in the time and space of history."<sup>407</sup> Rather, it is the transition from history to eternity.

According to Kilmartin, Christ is no longer defined by Himself alone, but by a reality that embraces everything. Kilmartin takes into account Schoonenberg's idea of the Spirit: "Since the Spirit is divine, it must be considered to sustain the human reality of Jesus in existence along with the Logos and to give it eschatological significance."<sup>408</sup> The Spirit was always there and is present to the world as God's Spirit. If the Spirit is always there, then the eschatological, glorified Jesus can present himself through his Spirit to the world for eternity.<sup>409</sup> Moreover, "God's time transcends all historical time and is contemporaneous with all such time."<sup>410</sup> Similarly the glorified Jesus transcends all historical time and presents Himself in the present. Now Jesus lives outside historical time.<sup>411</sup> Moreover, Kilmartin points out that Christ's Passover from suffering to glory will be fully completed only when the Church as his body is fully realized in Him.<sup>412</sup> Our *transitus* is not complete yet: it awaits eschatological fulfilment, i.e., "it is still to be completed at the further level of the fulfilment of the divine plan for all humanity."<sup>413</sup>

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<sup>400</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 454.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid., 454.

<sup>402</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 359.

<sup>403</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 452.

<sup>404</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 345 and also Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 10-11.

<sup>405</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 186.

<sup>406</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 359.

<sup>407</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 239.

<sup>408</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 67.

<sup>409</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 155.

<sup>410</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 334.

<sup>411</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 87.

<sup>412</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 349.

<sup>413</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 452.

### 3.5.3.3 The Role of the Spirit in Faith Response to the Father

Kilmartin makes clear that the Spirit has a decisive role in Christ's own faith and in the link between Christ's faith and ours. The Spirit, who had an active role in the incarnation of Christ,<sup>414</sup> consecrates Jesus during his baptism.<sup>415</sup> It is through the same Spirit that Christ responds to God from the Cross.<sup>416</sup> The Son's human response of faith is "in virtue of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit."<sup>417</sup> Jesus received the gifts of love, hope, and trust through the power of the Holy Spirit and his response is a response based on the Spirit as Kilmartin explains it in his Spirit Christology.<sup>418</sup> The response of Jesus' humanity reaches its highest point in his glorified state because "the Spirit becomes fully incarnated in the human love of the risen Lord."<sup>419</sup> Through this Spirit, the risen Lord continues to love humanity, which is an essential dimension of his love of the Father.

### 3.5.3.4 The Response to Human Beings in Covenant & Revelation

For Kilmartin, Jesus, having been anointed by the Spirit, becomes the starting point of the Kingdom of God who initiates "the covenant which will be definitive."<sup>420</sup>

In the first moment, we discussed the Father's covenantal relationship with humanity through Jesus. Kilmartin draws our attention to the double movement involved in the establishment of the new covenant by Jesus. On the one hand, Jesus in his divinity initiates the new covenant inviting humanity to participate in it. On the other hand, in his human nature, He is the representative of humanity and fulfils this covenantal establishment in his response to the Father.<sup>421</sup> Kilmartin says "as eternal Son it was impossible for Jesus to enter into any new covenant with the Father, but as the *Incarnate* Son of God He could. As representative of mankind He was able to enter into a new and eternal covenant."<sup>422</sup> Furthermore, in giving Himself on the Cross, Jesus gives Himself to the Father and to the many. During the Last Supper, He enacted the giving of Himself to the many symbolically with bread and wine. By giving Himself to the many, Jesus "characterizes Himself as a *martyr*." Martyr here is understood in the popular sense of the term, i.e., "one who gives his life in behalf of others."<sup>423</sup> Each time, the Church celebrates the Eucharist, the covenant of the new law is represented giving the believers an opportunity to deepen their membership and participation in it.<sup>424</sup>

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<sup>414</sup> Kilmartin, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit," 232.

<sup>415</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 142.

<sup>416</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 436.

<sup>417</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 541.

<sup>418</sup> See p. 84.

<sup>419</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 172.

<sup>420</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 63.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>423</sup> *Ibid.*, 60-61.

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.



### 3.5.3.5 Conclusion on the Second Movement

We have reviewed the second movement of Kilmartin's theology of authentic sacrifice – "the unique response of the Son in his humanity." The results indicate that Jesus in his humanity responds to God in perfect faith and obedience renewing the covenant on behalf of humanity and for the sake of humanity in virtue of the Spirit. He is the initiator and, at the same time, the completer of the covenant. His response is unique from the perspectives of his human faith and obedience and from the revelation of Himself as the means for all humanity to respond to God through his *transitus* from history to eternity.

### 3.5.4 THE THIRD MOVEMENT: THE SELF-OFFERING OF THE BELIEVERS

So far, we have considered the first two movements of authentic sacrifice, which involve: 1) the self-offering of the Father in the gift of his Son Jesus, and 2) the self-offering response of the Son in his humanity to the total self-offering of the Father. Kilmartin concludes that believers must somehow take part in this reciprocal self-offering of the Son so as to be united with Him and, through Him, with God, thereby becoming part of this authentic sacrifice. Kilmartin states that the believers must "insert themselves in both movements," i.e., in the self-offering of the Father to the Son and to humanity and the Son's response to the Father in Jesus' humanity.<sup>425</sup> If human beings can somehow enter into this redeeming act, then the redemptive work of Christ will give us entrance into divine life of God. With this background, we shall reflect on the third phase: the self-offering of believers in union with Christ.

#### 3.5.4.1 First Analysis of the Self-Offering of Believers in Union with Christ

An analysis of the third movement will help us to better understand the relationship Kilmartin constructs between the Church, as a communion of believers, and its bond with God through Jesus Christ, the incarnate Logos, whose sacrificial death on the Cross corresponds to the self-giving response of the Son to the Father in the immanent Trinity. Kilmartin suggests that believers must become part of this movement. So, it is only in the analysis of this third movement that we can fully understand the question: What is Kilmartin proposing in his theology of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice and why?

Before we further delve into this question, it is important to look at the entire third phase of the definition. The term 'self-offering' fits better when taken in conjunction with the rest of the phase, "self-offering of the believers in union with Christ." The self-offering of believers in union with the sacrificial self-offering of Jesus is key for Kilmartin, for it is the third phase which completes the triangular model of the entire definition. Remove the third phase and the definition ceases to exist as a Trinitarian model. Kilmartin formulates the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice, keeping the Church's (i.e. believers') participation in the life of God as its goal. Communion theology – between God and human – is at the heart of Kilmartin's theology. In salvation history, the communion is between the Father, Son and the believers with

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<sup>425</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 11.

the Holy Spirit functioning as the bond of this communion. It corresponds to the communion between the divine persons in the immanent Trinity with the Spirit as the mutual love between the Father and the Son. Hence, the third phase – the self-offering of the believers – gives Kilmartin's model a finishing point, although the third person of the Trinity is not explicitly mentioned in the definition.

In Kilmartin's Trinitarian theology, the third phase can never be the "opening point" of the definition as such because authentic sacrifice is not something that begins with human beings, but with God. Earlier in our discussion we said that, for Kilmartin, in authentic sacrifice it is God who takes the initiative of communicating Himself to human beings. Nevertheless, the initiative from God's side is not something that stands in isolation. It leads to a mutual relationship, for "we love because He first loved us" (1 John. 4:19). It is important, therefore, to note that the definition of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice according to Kilmartin, although divided into three phases, should be read as a whole, because it is only through the third phase of the definition, which is the response of humanity to God's invitation of self-giving love, that the definition can be justified as the definition of Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice.

In order to understand Kilmartin's interpretation of the third phase of the definition better, we will need to investigate each of its three parts individually, as spelled out in the third phase: *The self-offering of believers in union with Christ*. The picture is thus: 1) 'self-offering' in the context of the people and their lives; 2) 'the believers' in the context of liturgical celebrations; and 3) 'union with Christ' in the context of the Eucharist. For a more meaningful analysis, it is helpful to reverse the order of these concepts. In doing so, it also becomes easier to establish a logical link between the Eucharistic sacrifice discussed above and these concepts.

In the first two phases of the definition, the term "self-offering" denotes God's sacrifice of Himself as well as the Son's sacrifice of Himself, in his human nature, in response. So, what does Kilmartin mean when he uses the term self-offering with regard to believers?

#### 3.5.4.2 Union with Christ

In this section, we will discuss first what the Eucharistic celebration means for the believer's union with Christ. Next, we will discuss that this union comes about through participation in the faith and priesthood of Christ through the Spirit. Third, we shall discuss the effects of our union with Christ, i.e., our sanctification and renewal of the covenant through Christ, the High Priest.

In order to participate in the life of God, human beings must have a means of communication with God. In the conclusion of the second movement, we stated that the humanity of Christ is the only passage for us to be united with God. The human Jesus provides the means necessary for this communion, for "through personal contact with him, one meets the Son of God himself."<sup>426</sup> He is the complete revelation of the

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<sup>426</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 142.

self-communication of God.<sup>427</sup> Consequently, He is able to draw us to the Father. The union with Christ signifies a passage from ecclesial communion to Trinitarian communion. Consequently, for Kilmartin, it involves three communions: 1) communion of believers among themselves in the Church, 2) communion of the Church with Christ's humanity (the passage), and (3) communion in the life of the Godhead. The communion of the individual believers with one another in the Church reflects their communion with Christ (Church–Christ) and the communion with Christ reflects the communion with God (Christ–God = believers in God). If communion with Christ is the foundation of Trinitarian communion, then there must be a way to achieve this. Kilmartin strives to explain how the single *transitus* of Christ becomes present to us, so that we can participate in it.

### 3.5.4.2.1 Eucharist as Means of Participation

Earlier we said that it is important for the believers to *somehow* enter into the self-giving response of the Son to the Father so that they may participate in the divine life of God. In this section, we shall answer the question of what brings about the believers' entry into the self-giving sacrifice of the Father and the Son. According to Kilmartin, the entrance into the divine life of God is real, and this is realized through the sacraments, in particular the Eucharist: "This radical inclusion of themselves in the victimhood of the cross and of the Mass is actualized by the faithful who sharing in the priesthood of Christ through Baptism offer the Sacrifice of the Mass."<sup>428</sup> In the Eucharist, Kilmartin finds the key by which one can insert oneself into Christ's self-offering to the Father. The Eucharist recalls and proclaims his eternally efficacious self-offering. "In giving the Eucharistic gifts as food," the self-offering of the Son to the Father is represented in the form of a memorial meal and applied.<sup>429</sup> The Eucharist is the means by which we become one with Christ and Christ with us [Gal. 2. 20].<sup>430</sup>

It is necessary for believers to be active and participate in the "once-and-for-all" sacrifice of Jesus in Calvary in which He gives Himself to the Father. For the believers, doing what Christ did, i.e., giving Himself to the Father is essential. At the same time, the believers' giving of themselves to the Father comes only through Christ. In other words, the foundational concept of Kilmartin's theology of the Eucharist is *through Christ to God the Father; through Him [through Jesus], with Him [with Jesus], and in Him [in Jesus]*,<sup>431</sup> because in the Eucharist "all become one body."<sup>432</sup> Kilmartin also makes clear the benefit the Eucharist brings forth: participation in the divine life of God. One must remember that in our participation we do not become gods but become part only of the self-giving movements and, hence, in that sense, share in the life of God.

<sup>427</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 75.

<sup>428</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 613.

<sup>429</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 11.

<sup>430</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Sacred Liturgy: Reform and Renewal", in *Remembering the Future: Vatican II and Tomorrow's Liturgical Agenda*, ed. Carl A. Last (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 38.

<sup>431</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 338-339.

<sup>432</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 83.

### 3.5.4.2.2 Eucharistic Transitus

Earlier in the second movement, we mentioned the *transitus* of Christ. In this section, we shall discuss *how* we make our *transitus* into Christ and thereby establish union with Christ. Kilmartin sees the Eucharist as a place of passage for believers into Christ. The Eucharist is intrinsically connected with the self-offering response of the Son. The saving actions of Christ's self-giving love, which began with his earthly life and ended on the Cross, are somehow present in the Eucharist, not because they are objectively re-presented, but because they are communicated to the believers: "In itself the Eucharist is not a sacrifice alongside or in addition to that of the cross. Rather it is the communication of the sacrifice of the cross to the community."<sup>433</sup> The Church, as the Eucharistic people, "inserts" itself into the sacrifice of the Son to the Father.

Kilmartin provides clues as to how the *transitus* happens to his believers, i.e., what has happened in Christ, the Head, now happens in the members of his Body. Kilmartin sees the Last Supper within the context of the broader process of the foundation of the Church: "The Last Supper is thus set squarely within the final process of the founding of the Church, which includes the death and resurrection of Christ together with the sending of the Holy Spirit."<sup>434</sup> Kilmartin, in a carefully defined sense, establishes the relationship between the Last Supper and the sacrifice of the Cross, and states that:

Jesus ... prophesies by word and gesture the impending passion and the fruit of the passion, that is, the establishment of the covenant. By this means He manifests the offering of obedience and love which is present in his soul: the essence of the redemptive act. The redemption will be completed in history through the visible suffering and exaltation of Jesus. It is ritually manifested at the Last Supper.<sup>435</sup>

This shows the link between the Crucifixion and the Last Supper, and raises the possibility that, in the Eucharist, the believers can take part in the second movement, the unique response of the Son. According to Kilmartin, when the Church celebrates the Eucharist it renders itself present, through memory, to the once-and-for-all sacrifice of the Cross. What was done during the Last Supper ritually "manifests the offering [on the Cross] which Jesus makes of his life for men and the acceptance by the Father."<sup>436</sup> The Eucharist "renders visible on earth the once-for-all sacrifice which Christ offered sacramentally at the Last Supper and which He manifested through His physical death on the cross."<sup>437</sup> In the form of a sacramental memorial meal, the Eucharist represents the complete work of Christ, including the death on the Cross.<sup>438</sup>

In chapter two we discussed Casel's treatment of how a past redemptive deed is made present to us beyond space and time in the Eucharist. In contrast to Casel's idea, Kilmartin follows Giraudo in reversing the order. In the Eucharist, he says, we enter

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<sup>433</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 11.

<sup>434</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>435</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 67-68.

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>438</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 11.

into God's time. With the help of the Spirit, human beings in their intellectual ability and capacity are capable of making an incident, person, or a thing intentionally present.<sup>439</sup> Jesus of Nazareth, who lived in history, died. His coming back "cannot be a real coming to believers in history, under the conditions of historical space and time."<sup>440</sup> Therefore, a real coming involves an action from the part of the believers who "enter into God's time" while still conditioned by time and history.<sup>441</sup> Following Giraudo, Kilmartin discusses how the *transitus* is realized in the celebration of the Eucharist. He writes, "the transitus of Christ himself is recalled but is not represented objectively and sacramentally to the assembly in the Eucharistic Prayer."<sup>442</sup> In other words, there is no objective representation of the *transitus* of Christ Himself. Kilmartin points to the continuing efficacy of Christ's Pasch in the Eucharist, which connects the faithful in their offering of themselves to the offering of Christ's sacrifice. By gathering around Christ, the living Word, incarnated in history and ritualizing his mystery in the Eucharist, believers can participate in the life of God. Summarizing the work of Kilmartin, Mary Collins says that the intimate passage [*transitus*] into the mystery of God through Christ, in Christ and with Christ in the Holy Spirit, for Kilmartin, occurs in the Eucharist through the thanksgiving that brings table fellowship or "*koinonia*."<sup>443</sup>

Even though the Eucharistic celebration is understood within the framework of a meal, the elements of the meal are effectively attached to the elements of a sacrificial celebration. Considering this, Kilmartin remarks, "the process of the meal is that by which (the *modus quo* [the mode which]) the ritual sacrificial act (the *id quod* [that which]) is realized. In other words, although the meal aspect belongs to the shape of the celebration, it is bound to the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist."<sup>444</sup> In bringing up this meal-sacrifice theme, Kilmartin in fact stresses the idea of table fellowship, the *koinonia*, which he believes reveals the *transitus* sacramentally. *Koinonia* is not only about the living but also the dead, and thus connects the entire Church of the past, the present, and the future.<sup>445</sup> For him, the ritual sign of our *transitus* is the table sharing of the believers with Christ in which they become one with Him. This answers the question of how exactly the *transitus* takes place, ritually.<sup>446</sup> In conclusion, for Kilmartin, in every sacramental celebration, but in the highest possible way in the Eucharistic meal, our participation in the paschal *transitus* of Christ becomes a reality. This comes about through the Church, especially in its physical gathering, communion, and fellowship. It means that "if we are saved 'in, with, and through Christ,' it makes sense to speak of the presence of Christ in the liturgy of the Church as the presence of the one who is in the process of his single *transitus* to the Father."<sup>447</sup>

<sup>439</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 349.

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid.*, 333.

<sup>441</sup> *Ibid.*, 334.

<sup>442</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 370.

<sup>443</sup> Mary Collins, "The Church and the Eucharist," *CTS:AP* 52, no. (1997), 29.

<sup>444</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 437.

<sup>445</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Sacrifice of Thanksgiving and Social Justice", in *Liturgy and Social Justice*, ed. Mark Searle (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1980), 57. Commenting on the ecumenical documents, Kilmartin says, the Eucharistic worship "is a source of blessings for the living and dead for whom intercession is made." Cf. Kilmarin, "The Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue on the Eucharist," 214.

<sup>446</sup> Scholars like Mary Collins are critical of this view. Cf. Collins, "The Church and the Eucharist," 29.

<sup>447</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 345-346.

Christ, who is personally present, transforms the Eucharistic participants into his body and draws them into his own "destiny" of self-giving. Christ does this with the power of the Holy Spirit. The High Priest who made the single *transitus* from suffering to glory continues to offer Himself as "being-for-us" in heaven for eternity. As a result, the believers can continue to "apply" this sacrifice as sharers in the Holy Spirit. "Our memory in the Spirit allows us, as believers, to bring the historical event of Jesus' saving work to the center of our lives and history."<sup>448</sup> It is through the power of the Holy Spirit that the believers unite themselves to Christ in his sacrifice: "The Spirit gives the Church the grace to recall, to render herself present to the Christ of history, passing from the world to the Father."<sup>449</sup> For Kilmartin, what happens in the Eucharist is that the believers present themselves in the saving work of Christ which is recalled. The believers incorporate themselves into the single *transitus* of Christ from suffering to glory. Kilmartin says, "The Father saves humanity by drawing human beings into the single *transitus* of Jesus Christ."<sup>450</sup> Kilmartin thinks that the historical acts of Jesus need "not be repeated in order to be effectively present in the liturgical celebration."<sup>451</sup> This also seems to be an important argument for Kilmartin for rejecting the idea of "sacramental sacrifice," developed by Vonier and adopted by Casel.<sup>452</sup> In the Eucharist, Kilmartin claims, we go to the Christ-event and make ourselves present to it.<sup>453</sup> As previously mentions, this is in fact an idea which Kilmartin took from Giraudo.<sup>454</sup>

Having established the Eucharist as a place of our (inchoate) participation in the *transitus* of the glorified Christ,<sup>455</sup> Kilmartin examines the concept of priesthood in order to explain how the *transitus* works explicitly in the sacramental celebrations. In the event of the celebration of the Eucharist, based on Matthew 18:20 ("For where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them"), the Church gathers as one single body with the priest as its representative. The physical gathering of the believers around the Word and through the ministerial actions of a priest,<sup>456</sup> affirms the fact that Christ, the eternal High Priest, is in their midst and is working through the ministerial actions of the priest.<sup>457</sup> Nevertheless, he warns against any interpretation wherein the priest is the one who brings about the reality of our *transitus* into Christ. The priest acts in the person of Christ, not in his own power, by the power of the Church. Therefore, the EP is not the prayer of the priest but the

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<sup>448</sup> Ibid., 349.

<sup>449</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology," 246.

<sup>450</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 345. Also cf. Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 10-11.

<sup>451</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 452.

<sup>452</sup> See p. 37.

<sup>453</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," 246.

<sup>454</sup> Kilmartin reports that Giraudo's ideas bear a close resemblance to what Hans Bernhard Meyer [1924-2002] has proposed. Meyer suggests that instead of saying that the liturgical activity "renders presents Christ and his saving work," it is more accurate for us to say that "we are the ones who 'ought to enter newly into the presence of his person and saving work in the medium of the ritual cultic activity'." Cf. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 338. For the original of Meyer, cf. Hans Bernhard Meyer, *Eucharistie: Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral*, Gottesdienst der Kirche, Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft, vol. 4 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1989).

<sup>455</sup> Our *transitus* is incomplete whereas Christ's *transitus* is complete. Hence, in itself, ours is only in the process. Cf. Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 349.

<sup>456</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 238.

<sup>457</sup> See p. 116.

“prayer of the Church.”<sup>458</sup> That does not mean that the priest does not represent Christ. He represents Christ because he represents the Church.<sup>459</sup>

### 3.5.4.2.3 *Unity Through the Faith of Jesus*

In the previous sections we presented Kilmartin’s description of the union between Christ and believers in the Eucharistic celebration and now we present how Kilmartin accounts for it. In our discussion of the second movement, we briefly mentioned Von Balthasar’s view on the faith of Jesus. We shall discuss how Kilmartin seeks to use Von Balthasar’s formulation in order to establish the believers’ transition into Christ. According to Kilmartin, our attitude and faith stem from Christ’s own faith and attitude. The faith of Jesus is the way for us to be deeply connected to God because if the faith of Jesus the human being is acceptable to God, then our faith, too, in Jesus will be acceptable to Him. Faith in Jesus Christ binds the Church to Himself. It is the Spirit, Kilmartin believes, that enables a believer to grasp the faith of Jesus Christ.<sup>460</sup> The faith of Jesus is the means for humanity to enter into the new covenant with God. It is by the gift of faith that the sacramental deepening of new life in Christ occurs.<sup>461</sup> For Kilmartin, the faith of Jesus functions as a hinge that unites humanity with Himself. When the relationship of Christian faith to the mystery of Christ is discussed, he says, “the question of the faith of Christ himself should be introduced.”<sup>462</sup> The response of faith of the perfect human being, Jesus, “grounds the response of faith of all humanity.”<sup>463</sup>

The Church’s mysterious participation in the faith of Jesus Christ is manifested and realized in the sacraments. When a believer responds in faith in ordinary situations, it could be understood as the participation in the life of faith of Jesus Christ, in so far as this “response is conformed to the meritorious attitudes of Christ.”<sup>464</sup> Faith is not something that precedes the mystery, but it is the “first and indispensable way of sharing in the mystery.”<sup>465</sup>

Whilst Kilmartin’s language about the faith of Jesus is gleaned from Von Balthasar, one has to consider also some differences between them. First, in contrast to Von Balthasar who sees faith as a necessary condition, Kilmartin states that our faith is already a sharing in the mystery [of God]. For Kilmartin, faith is not caused by or does not follow upon the celebration of the Eucharist but goes together with it. When Kilmartin explicitly says that faith “does not precede the mystery,” apparently, he is criticizing Von Balthasar. However, he still wants to say that celebrating the Eucharist cannot be independent of the exercise of faith. Hence, Kilmartin would also deny that

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<sup>458</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 370.

<sup>459</sup> Kilmartin, “Bishop and Presbyter as Representatives of Christ and the Church,” 297. Also cf. Roch Kereszty’s summary of Kilmartin’s priesthood. Roch Kereszty, “Real Presence, Manifold Presence: Christ and the Church’s Eucharist,” *Antiphon* 6, no. 3 (2001), cf. footnote 22 in the same article.

<sup>460</sup> Kilmartin, “Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church,” 546.

<sup>461</sup> Kilmartin, “Theology of the Sacraments,” 128.

<sup>462</sup> Kilmartin, “Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church,” 541.

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid.*, 542.

<sup>464</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 357.

<sup>465</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

the mystery precedes faith. His point is that in the Eucharist Christ is not present "independently" of the exercise of faith.<sup>466</sup>

Secondly, Von Balthasar's contention of an *ontic* union in the faith of Christ is problematic for Kilmartin.<sup>467</sup> Von Balthasar holds to the view that the Church is able to have an *ontic* participation in the faith of Christ which, in his view, makes it possible for believers to share in the *ontic* priesthood of Christ. Also, the concept *in persona Christi* in modern Catholic teaching is unsatisfactory for Kilmartin because it expresses a somewhat *ontic* participation in the personhood of Christ. This concept suggests that the priest is "ontologically" participating in the very life of Christ and his priesthood. From Kilmartin's denial of the *ontic* participation of all believers follows that he is not satisfied with the concept of *in persona Christi* as it is said of the presiding priest. Allegedly, the presiding priest is able to say during the Institution Narrative, "this is my body" and "this is my blood" because of his ontological oneness with Christ.<sup>468</sup>

In his argument on the priesthood of Christ, Kilmartin proposes that no human being can actually participate in the "incommunicable" priesthood of Christ. Kilmartin objects to an *ontological* participation in the faith or priesthood of Christ, since a participation in the personal, unique priesthood of Christ is impossible because Christ's personal priesthood is incommunicable.<sup>469</sup> Neither the laity nor the ordained priests are ontologically transformed into the very being of Christ. For Kilmartin, no one can be ontologically in communion with the person of Jesus.<sup>470</sup> Believers can only unite themselves to the faith of Jesus and, in this way, partake indirectly in the Son's response to the self-giving love of the Father. This means that the participation in the divine life of God is achievable only by personal communion with Jesus through faith.

#### 3.5.4.2.4 Participation in Faith and Priesthood through the Spirit

In an attempt to move beyond the issue of an *ontological* sharing in the priesthood of Christ, which would also imply an ontological sharing in the faith of Christ, Kilmartin adds the words *per Spiritum* to the sharing in the faith and priesthood of Christ. This signifies that through the Spirit the believer is able to share in the faith and priesthood of Christ. The Church shares *in persona Christi per Spiritum*<sup>471</sup> since it participates in the Spirit of the priesthood [faith] of Christ. In other words, human beings can participate in the life of Christ through faith by the Spirit. Kilmartin believes that the revelation of Trinitarian love in human form makes it possible for the believers to

<sup>466</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 239-243. According to Kilmartin, in the Easter appearances, Christ's presence causes the faith, but in the 'institutions' like the Apostolic Office, the Word of God, and the sacraments, Christ does not become present if there is no exercise of faith 'before'.

<sup>467</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 455.

<sup>468</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 531

<sup>469</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 248.

<sup>470</sup> Although there is no *ontic* participation in the very being of Christ between the priest and Christ, Kilmartin affirms that there is *ontic* transformation of the bread and wine. These elements are ontologically transformed into the body and blood of Christ. This happens by the power of the Holy Spirit.

<sup>471</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 531.



attach their faith to the human faith of Jesus. This attaching of our faith to the faith of Jesus is what makes us one with Christ. The result of responding to the faith is that the entire community – empowered by the work of the Holy Spirit – is “not only related to Christ’s self-offering, but also that the actively present Christ relates his once-for-all self-offering to that of the community of faith.”<sup>472</sup> Faith and the Spirit are the connecting link. The Spirit, by whose inspiration the human Jesus had faith and sacrificed Himself, can thus attach the faith of the believers to the faith of Jesus, and their sacrifices to the sacrifice of Jesus.

The salvific effect of the Eucharistic celebration comes about by participation in the Spirit of the faith of Christ. A closer look into this statement reveals that our union with the *Spirit of the faith of Jesus* is key to participation, i.e., the integration of the believing member into the one single *transitus* of Jesus Christ.<sup>473</sup> In other words, the Church is one with Christ in his obedience of faith because of the one Spirit.<sup>474</sup> In order to share in the divine life of God, one must respond with Jesus’ self-giving response to the Father through the Spirit. In this way, the entire human family might become one with Christ in faith, and enjoy “a deeper involvement in the new covenant.”<sup>475</sup> The human Jesus leads us to the divine Christ and, through Him, to God. Believers, in responding to faith in Jesus, share in the faith of Jesus in this substantial covenant relationship.<sup>476</sup> This is the only acceptable way, Kilmartin asserts, that a human being can connect to God’s new covenant.

### ***3.5.4.2.5 Sanctification of the Eucharistic Elements and the Believers in the Liturgy / Eucharist***

Sanctification theology is at the heart of Kilmartin’s work. We have touched upon the concepts of the proper mission of the Son and the Spirit while dealing with the role of the Holy Spirit in the second chapter. This discussion is relevant for explaining Kilmartin’s emphasis on a more explicit role of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist. In order to spell out the sanctification brought forth from the Eucharistic celebration, Kilmartin believes two contrasting Christologies need to be acknowledged, namely, the “descending” Christology of the Logos and the “ascending” Christology of the human Jesus. Whereas the “descending” Christology focuses upon the salvific work of Christ and his ministry by the power of the Spirit, the “ascending” Christology focuses upon the consecration of the entire humanness of the human Jesus by the same Spirit so as to unify entire humankind in conformity with Him, to be able to conjoin in the life of the Trinity.<sup>477</sup>

According to Kilmartin, there is a proper mission for the Spirit [for sanctification]. First, the Spirit of both the Father and the Son is sent to keep the memory of Jesus alive in the hearts of the believers, teaching them to celebrate the life, mission, and work of Jesus in the liturgical celebrations. Second, in their response to Christ and to God, the faithful are sanctified and unified to Christ. The Spirit initiates the

<sup>472</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 371.

<sup>473</sup> Kilmartin, “The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology,” 449.

<sup>474</sup> Hall, *We Have the Mind of Christ*, 145-146.

<sup>475</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 20-21.

<sup>476</sup> Kilmartin, “Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church,” 542.

<sup>477</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 161-162; 214-215.

sanctification of the faithful, just as He initiated the sanctification of Jesus during his baptism and unifies them to Christ and his priesthood. Kilmartin explains these two actions via *anabatic* as well as *katabatic* movements in liturgical celebrations. Kilmartin's bestowal model focuses more on the *anabatic* movement because, for him, this is the principle that causes our participation in the life of the Trinity. Kilmartin believes that every "sacramental celebration has an *anabatic* orientation."<sup>478</sup>

The Holy Spirit necessitates active participation in the liturgical worship of the Church and is therefore of great importance. Whereas the Eastern Church does justice to the Trinitarian perspective via its EPs, the Western Church still lacks a theology in this respect.<sup>479</sup> Therefore, Kilmartin develops an explanation of "how Christian worship works," which he believes explains the proper mission of Christ and the Spirit.

The Gospel passages and the traditions of Paul obviously highlight Jesus and his presence within the Eucharist.<sup>480</sup> Nevertheless, what is considerably less clear is the scriptural evidence as to the role of the Spirit in the Eucharistic meal. This is where the liturgical action of the "*epiclesis*" and also "anamnesis," recalling what Christ has done for us, comes in.<sup>481</sup> We have extensively dealt with the *anamnetic-epicletic* structure and the concept of "recalling" it revolves around in the section on EPs.<sup>482</sup> For Kilmartin, it is the *epiclesis* which is the moment of consecration as opposed to the Institution Narrative, a view traced in the traditional Orthodox theology.<sup>483</sup> The union with Christ is expressed in the *epiclesis* over the bread and wine, which are a symbolical representation of Church's offering. The extension of the *epiclesis* in the intercessions is meant for the sanctification of the participants.<sup>484</sup> By involving the person of the Holy Spirit, Kilmartin thereby directs us to a pneumatological theology of sacrifice.

At times, we may be inclined to believe that the *epiclesis* pertains only to the Eucharistic gifts; however, Kilmartin warns that it pertains also to the assembly,<sup>485</sup> which is the goal of the transformation of the Eucharistic species. The Spirit is not merely called to transform the gifts of bread and wine alone, [*katabatic*] but to do

<sup>478</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 538.

<sup>479</sup> Mary M. Schaefer, "Presence of the Trinity: Relationship or Idea?" *Liturgical Ministry* 19, no. 4 (2010), 150.

<sup>480</sup> For references of the Holy Spirit and its connection with life, Jesus, and its return to the Father, cf. Mt. 27:50; Lk. 23: 46; Jn. 7: 37-39, 19:30 etc. Especially for John, every believer receives life through the Holy Spirit, the principal animator of the Eucharist. That is, by receiving Christ's body and blood, every believer continues the redeeming work of God in the world. References for the relation between the Holy Spirit and the Eucharist within the writings of Paul, cf. Eph. 4: 4-5; 1 Cor. 12:12; Rom. 6: 3-4; Rom. 8:9 etc.

<sup>481</sup> "Epiclesis" is widely known as "an invocation of God to sanctify a person or thing." Cf. Jozef Lamberts, "Eucharist and the Holy Spirit," *TD* 34, no. 1 (1987), 52. However, this invocation within the liturgical celebration and in the EPs means the "calling down" of the Holy Spirit to change the bread and wine into body and blood of Christ. Cf. Adolf Adam, *The Eucharistic Celebration: The Source and Summit of Faith* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1991), 77. For a detailed study of the "Epiclesis", cf. McKenna, *The Eucharistic Epiclesis: A Detailed History from the Patristic to the Modern Era*.

<sup>482</sup> See p. 169.

<sup>483</sup> Kilmartin, "Ecclesiastical Office, Power and Spirit," 105.

<sup>484</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 330.

<sup>485</sup> The Eastern tradition has only a single petition while the Western tradition has two separate *epicleses* both for the Eucharistic species and the participants.

something more important, i.e., transform the whole assembly into the very body of Christ, so that the assembly might be united to Christ. Thus, through this "union" with Christ, the *anabatic* movement can now freely occur. Through the *epiclesis*, the Spirit is "called down" so that we could be "offered-up" through an *anabatic* movement, which is liturgically "externalized" in the offering of the bread and wine by the assembly.<sup>486</sup> The idea behind Kilmartin's proposal of this theory is that we may "become what we receive," as Augustine says. An interesting point to note here is that, for Kilmartin, the *anabatic* movement, which is the response of the people from below, is visible in the liturgical rite, especially in the Eucharistic *epiclesis*.<sup>487</sup> The *anabatic* movement also involves a personal faith in Jesus from the believers' side.<sup>488</sup> The liturgical actions (thanksgiving, lifting up of our hearts to God, bringing forward the bread and wine, etc.) are part of the *anabatic* movement and have to do with personal faith. Kilmartin follows closely the example of Tillard, who emphasized the transformation of the believers together with the Eucharistic species, giving new life to a concept which was already very much present in the works of the Church Fathers.<sup>489</sup> Tillard's suggestion concerning the purpose of the Eucharist is noteworthy here.<sup>490</sup> For Tillard, and also for Kilmartin, the purpose of the Eucharist is not merely the transformation of the gifts but, first of all, the transformation of the individual believer and of the whole community.<sup>491</sup> Therefore, our invocation of the Holy Spirit should become a means by which not only the bread and wine but also those receiving the body and blood of Christ in the form of this bread and wine are transformed. Again, in the words of Tillard: "In the power of the Spirit of the Risen Christ, Christians are to become agents of this 'new creation'...this is how the prayer of *epiclesis* is to be fulfilled."<sup>492</sup>

We have already mentioned throughout this thesis, how the Western Church has been cautious about defining the moment of consecration. Had Kilmartin been alive today, I would assume he would simply suggest that debates as to the exact timing of the consecration belong to the past, and that there is no need to resurrect the old debate as to exactly when the consecration occurs. This centuries-old debate may be part of the reason why the Catholic Church, ever since Vatican II, has been looking to the Eastern Churches for some clarification on the "ancientness" of its beliefs in this matter, especially in the traditional *epiclesis*. Kilmartin argues that the Church of the West should realize the deeper theological meaning in the *epiclesis* and revert to the original position of the first three centuries, so that the role of the Holy Spirit can be properly uplifted. As Irwin says, the role of the *epiclesis* in the Catholic Church must be something that could help ecumenical dialogue.<sup>493</sup> Here, we keep in mind Kilmartin's stance on ecumenism.

<sup>486</sup> The liturgical expression of the participants through the 'presentation of the gifts' is an idea Kilmartin possibly took from Ambrose. For Ambrose teaches that, "the fact that the laity are active participants of the Eucharistic sacrifice (oblation) is expressed by the presentation of the Eucharistic gifts at the altar." Cf. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 20.

<sup>487</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 335-336.

<sup>488</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 538.

<sup>489</sup> J.M.R. Tillard, "The Eucharist and the Holy Spirit," *Theology Digest* 17, (1969), 133-138.

<sup>490</sup> Kilmartin seems to have been influenced by Tillard especially in his approach of the transformation of the faithful. Kilmartin frequently quotes Tillard on this topic.

<sup>491</sup> J.M.R. Tillard, *The Eucharist, Gift of God* ed. Max Thurian, Ecumenical Perspectives on Baptism (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1983), 108.

<sup>492</sup> *Ibid.*, 114. Also cf. Tillard, "The Eucharist and the Holy Spirit," 133-138.

<sup>493</sup> Kevin W. Irwin, *Responses to 101 Questions on the Mass* (New York: Paulist Press, 1999), 103.

In discussing a text of Pope Gelasius I (492-496) on the *epiclesis*, Kilmartin says that while the petition for the (*katabatic*) transformation of Eucharistic elements is “heard,” the petition for the (*anabatic*) transformation of the believers is “conditioned by” proper dispositions.<sup>494</sup> This means that when the Church prays to the Father through the *epiclesis* to convert the Eucharistic gifts into the body and blood of Christ, the prayer of the Church is “heard,” in the sense that the bread and wine have now become the real body and blood. However, the transformation of the believers, which is prayed for in the second *epiclesis*, is conditioned. The *katabatic* movement of God the Father in grace helps the believers open themselves to his love, consequently re-creating and renewing their own covenant with God in the ascending *anabatic* movement. We can see that the “bestowal model” generates a “binding” as well as an “actualization” of the covenant relationship. The result of this impact is that the covenant relationship of God the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit with humanity finds a faith response in the self-offering of the people in the Eucharist in the Holy Spirit through Christ to God the Father. We will come back to this covenantal relationship in the next section.

Kilmartin says the Eucharistic elements “are sanctified in that they are used by God as the means, on the side of humanity, by which God and believers in synergism realize this transcendence [i.e. humanity’s finite transcendence].”<sup>495</sup> The Spirit establishes the unity between the Eucharistic species and the glorified Christ.<sup>496</sup> The bread and wine are “ontologically changed” giving new meaning to the Eucharistic species. That being said, considerable attention must be paid to the understanding of this ontological change of the bread and wine that Kilmartin describes. For him, human beings cannot bring about such an ontological change of signs (i.e., of bread and wine) since they “do not have the power.” This is something that is left to God. Only God can make this change happen (transubstantiation). However, the *ontic* change of the Eucharistic species is “ordered to the *ontic* sanctification of human beings.”<sup>497</sup> An alternative explanation might have to do with eschatology. We are not yet fully the Body of Christ but becoming it. The present transformation of the gifts is subordinated to the eschatological transformation of the people.<sup>498</sup>

For Kilmartin, the union between the participants and Christ does not come about through the gathering of the believers as such, but through the Spirit’s consecration. God does it in the process of the consecration of the Eucharistic elements through the power of the Holy Spirit, in the sense that the Holy Spirit is called by the Church to consecrate the Eucharistic species as a means of consecrating the faithful. So, only coming together does not bring about our union with Christ. How, then, does this process of transformation of the believers occur liturgically? Kilmartin directs us to the EPs of the Church for answers. Kilmartin discovered that in reciting the EPs of the Church, in particular the *epiclesis*, the transformation of the believers occurs together with the transformation of the Eucharistic species.<sup>499</sup> Also, for Kilmartin, not only the EPs are important but also the communion rite.

<sup>494</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 72-73.

<sup>495</sup> Kilmartin, “The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit,” 248.

<sup>496</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

<sup>497</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>498</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 342-343.

<sup>499</sup> As discussed previously, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century in the traditional Roman Canon, an explicit *epiclesis* of such kind goes missing. For Kilmartin, the Holy Spirit functions as the agent of transformation of the

Theologians like Collins<sup>500</sup> criticize Kilmartin for not paying enough attention to the ritual doing, the performance, and for focusing too much on the saying, the texts. Although Kilmartin does not elaborate on it, there are some passages in which he suggests that the Holy Communion rite plays an essential role in the real participation in Christ's sacrifice. Biblically speaking, Kilmartin says, sacrifice and meal are inseparable: "Insofar as Jesus can be said to have instituted the memorial of his self-offering within the symbolic actions of the Last Supper, the sacrificial and meal aspects are inseparable."<sup>501</sup> For at the Last Supper, Jesus enacted his sacrificial offering "in the signs of food." Kilmartin also writes that "the visible sign of the self-offering of Christ in the Eucharist and of the participants' insertion into this self-offering is the meal."<sup>502</sup> The evidence of the encounter with Christ in the Eucharist is the communion of his body and blood.<sup>503</sup> Kilmartin seems to endorse the view expressed in Pope John Paul II's Holy Thursday Letter, *Dominicae Cenae* (1980), summarizing it as follows: "Holy Communion therefore ... is a privileged moment of the sacramental encounter with the crucified and risen Lord which begins with the sacramental re-presentation of the cross through the consecration of bread and wine."<sup>504</sup> Truly, it makes us "participants into his [Christ's] body and draws them into his destiny."<sup>505</sup> Other statements that express the importance of the communion rite are: "Eucharistic communion with the Kyrios, 'who was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification' (Rom 4:25), effectively signifies our incorporation into this mystery: ... participation in Trinitarian life"<sup>506</sup> and "through communion the participants are united with Christ in his total giving."<sup>507</sup>

Through the power of the Spirit, which affects the Eucharistic species to become the body and blood of Christ, Kilmartin puts humanity on the same trajectory of Jesus' self-offering response towards the Father. He writes that, "in the liturgical presentation of the gifts of the Spirit-filled Church, the gifts become the body and blood of Christ through the work of the Spirit and so serve to deepen the unity of the one Body in the Eucharistic eating and drinking."<sup>508</sup> "To eat and drink in the Eucharist is not a spiritual experience apart from Jesus 'as flesh and blood'."<sup>509</sup>

#### 3.5.4.2.6 Eucharistic Renewal of the Covenant through Christ the High Priest

According to Kilmartin, the Eucharistic participation that grounds a union between Christ and participants brings about the root meaning: the renewal of the covenant

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gifts and people and is vital for the transformation of the assembly into "union" with Christ. Therefore, the Holy Spirit should be properly invoked as the agent of transformation as it is in Eastern orthodox rites. The absence of a proper explicit *epiclesis* downplays the role of the Holy Spirit as well as the union necessary for the assembly to become part of the self-offering response of the Son.

<sup>500</sup> Collins, "The Church and the Eucharist," 21-22 & 29.

<sup>501</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 436-437.

<sup>502</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 11.

<sup>503</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 221.

<sup>504</sup> Kilmartin, *Church, Eucharist and Priesthood*, 31-32.

<sup>505</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>506</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," 253-254.

<sup>507</sup> Kilmartin, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit," 251.

<sup>508</sup> Kilmartin, "Pastoral Office and the Eucharist," 315.

<sup>509</sup> Kilmartin, "Bread from Heaven," 13.

with God through Christ the High Priest in the Spirit. Firstly, in union with Christ through the Spirit, the believers are able to respond to God in the renewal of the covenant. "If Jesus is the subject of the covenant as the representative of the Father, He is also subject of the covenant as representative of men."<sup>510</sup> Eucharistic praying, Kilmartin believes, "articulates a theology of covenant," which establishes the new dispensation Christ brings in the Spirit, i.e., "the mystery of the economy of the triune God in relation to the new people of God, the social body of which the crucified and risen Lord is head."<sup>511</sup> The Eucharist gives the opportunity to believers to deepen their share in the "personal communion that exists between Christ and the Father."<sup>512</sup> The bestowal model makes clear that this personal communion consists in the bestowal of the Spirit. Kilmartin maintains that through the Eucharistic elements, identified with his body and blood, Jesus mediates to the disciples "freedom from the power of sin and a new covenant union with God."<sup>513</sup> The blood of Christ "not only establishes the covenant but remains as its perpetual support."<sup>514</sup> Each time the Eucharist is celebrated the covenant is renewed and the "New Law is represented."<sup>515</sup> The Christians have the opportunity of manifesting their membership in the covenant and thereby amplify their participation in it. In this way, the reception of the Eucharistic Christ is necessary for salvation.<sup>516</sup>

Secondly, according to Kilmartin in our union with Christ in the Spirit, we believers can have the assurance that our prayers are heard and answered by the heavenly Father in love. He explains this by referring to the High Priestly role of Christ, which should be grasped as one of mediation. We have already dealt with the Spirit becoming fully incarnated in the human love of the risen Christ. Jesus continues now to intercede for humanity through the Spirit.<sup>517</sup> There is a "perpetual intercession" of Jesus, the High Priest before God the Father, for humanity. This flows from his act of love. Consequently, the Father constantly responds to the Son by offering the Spirit to the believers, thus enabling the response of faith. Because of Jesus' faith, the Father bestows the Spirit of sonship to the believers by a purely heavenly act.<sup>518</sup> In other words, the High Priestly role of Christ is the point of contact between the Trinitarian persons and humanity. Christ acts for eternity in this High Priestly role, so that believers may share in the life of the Father through Him. Moreover, since the Father hears Christ through the Spirit at all times, and because Christ has chosen to hear the plea of the believers in the same Spirit, believers are able to believe that it is the Father who hears them in Jesus. Thus, our prayers are answered because Christ's prayers are answered. Likewise, Christ brings our prayers to the Father through the same Spirit by which He Himself is also heard by the Father. The Father keeps sending the Spirit to us because He wants to bring us into Himself with, in, and through Christ, so that we are enabled to become his children.

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<sup>510</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 63.

<sup>511</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 340.

<sup>512</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 13.

<sup>513</sup> Kilmartin, *The Last Supper and the Earliest Eucharists of the Church*, 22.

<sup>514</sup> Kilmartin, "A First Century Chalice Dispute," 406.

<sup>515</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 73.

<sup>516</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>517</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 172.

<sup>518</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

### 3.5.4.2.7 Conclusion

We have dealt with one part of the third phase of the definition, viz., "in union with Christ," exploring some vital questions regarding the means of union and how this union with Christ comes about and why it is necessary. Since in the Eucharist the sacrifice of Christ is recalled, it becomes a means for believers to participate in this sacrifice and to make their *transitus* into Christ, the High Priest who continues to intercede for humanity. The *transitus* into Christ is sacramentally expressed in the entire Eucharistic rite including the EPs and communion rite. However, the union is established not because of the prayer of the priest, but because of the prayer of the Church. The faith of Jesus functions as a hinge which unites humanity with Himself. However, a direct participation in the very faith of Christ is impossible since it is incommunicable. The union with Christ is total; however this union is in the spirit of faith of Jesus and not ontological. The union is established by the person of the Holy Spirit who is called during the *epiclesis* of the EPs to transform the believers as He transforms the bread and wine. However, the perfect transformation of the believers is something for the *eschaton*. Through the union with Christ, the believers have already now an inchoate participation in the life of God and are able to renew and deepen their covenant with God through Christ for salvation. The Father hears the prayers of the Church since it is made through Christ, the High Priest, who continues to pray.

Having established these views, we move on to discuss Kilmartin's use of the words 'the believers' in the third movement of his definition of authentic sacrifice.

### 3.5.4.3 The Believers

The word 'believers' has to do with ecclesiology. The question that will be discussed in this section is to whom Kilmartin refers when he uses the term believers in his definition. Is it to the Church as a whole [universal], or is it to the individual persons?

#### 3.5.4.3.1 Believers as the Universal Church and Communal Worship

With the term 'believers', Kilmartin refers first of all to the people of God – the baptized Christians. Summarizing Augustine, Kilmartin says, even an infant is a believer in baptism.<sup>519</sup> God's self-communication is realized in the "faith of the Christians."<sup>520</sup> The community is "a communion of those who live a common life in Christ through the Spirit."<sup>521</sup> For him, "baptism ... signifies incorporation into the community of believers."<sup>522</sup> This community of believers is the Church as a whole, i.e., the universal Church. Having said this, Kilmartin also distinguishes between the Church as a whole and the individual believer by applying the phrase "plurality of persons." Thus, he calls the unity between Christ and the Church, "a unity in plurality of persons."<sup>523</sup> The "believers are in Christ's body 'in the Spirit'." <sup>524</sup> In this fashion,

<sup>519</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 152.

<sup>520</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>521</sup> Kilmartin, "The Achievement of Sacrosanctum Concilium," 571.

<sup>522</sup> Kilmartin, "Bishop and Presbyter as Representatives of Christ and the Church," 296.

<sup>523</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 435.

Kilmartin brings to light the sacramental character of the believers as a whole, which has to be seen in the light of pneumatology.

Kilmartin stresses the communal aspect of believers in the Church, i.e., the believers constitute one community and that "communal worship is an essential ingredient of the life of faith."<sup>525</sup> The believers come together not because it is a tradition, but because of "the meaning of the Eucharist" in their lives.<sup>526</sup> Kilmartin says, "the Eucharist provides the unique example of a sacrament in which the communal dimension is placed in the foreground and encloses an individual dimension."<sup>527</sup> and he identifies the Eucharist as the place where believers affirm their faith. He says, "the clearest affirmation of belief ... takes place in the believing participation in the Eucharist."<sup>528</sup> Celebrating the Eucharist allows believers to express their faith in God and Jesus in a more meaningful way: "communion in the Eucharistic flesh and blood is the most concentrated form of belief."<sup>529</sup> Moreover, the whole Eucharistic rite enables one to enter into communion with Christ and through Him with the Father. In the twofold aspect of the moment of sanctification in the Eucharist, namely, the *katabatic* and *anabatic*, he refers to the consecration of *all* the faithful present in the *anabatic* movement "to unite themselves to the self-offering of Christ by faith."<sup>530</sup> For Kilmartin, the EPs express this aspect as according to the EPs of the Church, the entire community "enters into the sacrifice of Christ" through their communion.

### 3.5.4.3.2 *The Individual Believer*

Having stressed the importance of the Church as a community, Kilmartin also speaks of the liturgy as a special place, an opportunity, for the individual believer to make a spiritual self-offering. He regards this idea as something that is commonly affirmed by Catholic theologians as well as by Reformers.<sup>531</sup> Kilmartin's stress on the individual believer is clear from his usage of terms such as "believer," "personal," and "human being" as singular nouns. He is adamant in his emphasis on the individual's participation in the story of redemption. Salvation history completed in Christ "must be realized in the individual and, indeed, in the whole Church."<sup>532</sup> The individual believers bring the Church together and the individual members are the "cause of the real unity of the Church" by their participation in the Eucharist.<sup>533</sup>

Although in the *anabatic* movement every believer present in the Eucharist is invited to give oneself fully to Christ in order to be united with Him, Kilmartin distinguishes levels of signification on the part of the individual believer. Personal effort is necessary for the process of sanctification.<sup>534</sup> In the self-communication of God, the entire community does not share directly in this grace, since "it is made to the

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<sup>524</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 222.

<sup>525</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 140.

<sup>526</sup> Kilmartin, "The Basis of Sunday Mass Obligation," 300.

<sup>527</sup> Kilmartin, "When Is Marriage a Sacrament?" 276.

<sup>528</sup> Kilmartin, "Bread from Heaven," 13.

<sup>529</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>530</sup> Kilmartin, "The Catholic Tradition of Eucharistic Theology," 436.

<sup>531</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 179.

<sup>532</sup> Kilmartin, "Patristic Views of Sacramental Sanctification," 160.

<sup>533</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 14.

<sup>534</sup> Kilmartin, "Patristic Views of Sacramental Sanctification," 146.



individual.”<sup>535</sup> The communion with Christ is very personal and depends on “the exercise of the psychological aspect of the life of faith.”<sup>536</sup> By the life of faith, Kilmartin means the “life of trust and hope in, and love of, the triune god.”<sup>537</sup> This life of faith expressed by the believers is objectively realized in the reading of the Scripture and the practicing of the approved liturgy.<sup>538</sup> Besides the faith revealed through our union in liturgical prayer, Kilmartin also stresses the importance of personal prayer in the life of the believers as an expression of their personal life of faith. This is because private prayers are a “prolongation of liturgical prayer.”<sup>539</sup> In other words, the quality of our participation in the liturgy first depends on our faith but, in return, this faith is deepened by our participation in the liturgy. This faith is also further deepened by our personal prayer life. Furthermore, it is also necessary that the life of faith is also lived in one’s ordinary day-to-day life. More details on this will be given later on in the next section.<sup>540</sup>

When we apply this to the Trinitarian encounter of God with humanity, Kilmartin’s view is that the encounter is something that is between God and an individual believer. What happens in the Eucharist is a spiritual experience of an encounter through Christ, the Son of God.<sup>541</sup> God’s encounter provokes a response in the human being. Since Kilmartin reserves the terms self-communication only for God,<sup>542</sup> this response towards God’s invitation is “self-offering” and not “self-communication.” It is likely that the reason for this terminological difference is that God’s self-offering is total and ours is not, at least not until the eschaton.<sup>543</sup> Active participation in this encounter is liturgically visible in the Eucharist by the “individual believer’s degree of agreement ... expressed verbally and gesturally in the ritual act,”<sup>544</sup> through prayers and by listening to the word of God. By the term “encounter” Kilmartin means, “a person opening oneself to another while the other does likewise.”<sup>545</sup> Equally, in the sacraments, the encounter with God is directed towards the individual human person. Individuals must respond together with the community in the liturgical celebrations. Applying this idea to the Eucharistic celebration, the question arises whether Kilmartin believes that only those who participate in a particular Mass are invited to be united to Christ in this encounter. This brings the discussion to those who assemble for the liturgical celebrations in relation to believers who are not present. In what follows, I shall discuss the role and position, first, of those who are present for a particular Mass, including the ordained minister, and next, of those absent in a particular Mass. The latter will be further subdivided into: a) those who belong to the entire universal Church, b) the non-believers, and c) those with a “special participation.”

<sup>535</sup> Kilmartin, “Theology of the Sacraments,” 170.

<sup>536</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 356.

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*, 356.

<sup>538</sup> Kilmartin, “A Roman Catholic Response,” 137.

<sup>539</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 6.

<sup>540</sup> See p. 217.

<sup>541</sup> Kilmartin, “Bread from Heaven,” 13.

<sup>542</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 356.

<sup>543</sup> See p. 220.

<sup>544</sup> *Ibid.*, 371.

<sup>545</sup> Kilmartin, “A Modern Approach to the Word of God,” 69.

### 3.5.4.3.3 *The Assembled Community Present as the Celebrants*

For Kilmartin, the Eucharistic celebration is not the activity of the priest alone, but of the whole assembly, the Church. Moreover, the moment of the consecration of the gifts is not the focal point. What matters more is the consecration of the assembly by the Holy Spirit. In his Eucharistic theology of authentic sacrifice, Kilmartin places the assembly of those who are actually present for the Mass as the subject of the Eucharistic rite, and God as the object. The whole Church, which refers to the universal Church (including those who are physically present), is a single medium presented by the gifts of bread and wine.

Contrary to the idea within scholastic theology which points to the priest as the one offering the Mass, Kilmartin contends that it is the assembly, having the priest as their representative, which offers the sacrifice. Kilmartin argues for the assembly as the "active subject of the celebration" of the Eucharist,<sup>546</sup> directing us to the EPs of the Church, for this prayer is the prayer of the Church, directed to God the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit.<sup>547</sup> One of his articles, written as early as 1965, suggests that he became convinced of this through reading Obermann who referred to the 15<sup>th</sup>-century scholastic theologian Biel. Biel wrote: "The Mass is the sacrifice of the whole Church and ... the Church offers it through the priest who is her instrument in applying its fruit."<sup>548</sup> As distinct from Christ's sacrifice, the Church makes its offering through joining its own sacrifice to that of Christ. The Church joins Christ's sacrifice and offers praise and thanksgiving for what God has done in the person of Jesus and this is made visible in the liturgical celebrations.<sup>549</sup> Kilmartin says:

The words of Christ found in the liturgical account of institution are pronounced by the priest acting *in persona Christi*. But the priest is also the authorized minister of the Church. While conducting the Church's prayerful discourse with the Father, he pronounces the words which Christ pronounced in the unrepeatable situation of the Last Supper in view of the immediate future, and above all in view of the liturgical celebration of the Church. At the heart of the Eucharistic worship, the authorized minister intervenes and in his oration pronounces the same words "in the person of the praying Church by the speech of Christ", that is, in the name of the Church which here prays with the words of Christ. The words of consecration are words of Christ not immediately in the mouth of Christ but in the mouth of the Church, authoritatively represented by its ordained minister.<sup>550</sup>

For corroborating the claim that the whole liturgical assembly (presiding minister and the actually assembled believers) celebrates the Eucharist, Kilmartin points at the words used in the EPs. He directs our attention especially to the pronouns used, observing that they are used in the "first person plural." For Kilmartin, "this makes

<sup>546</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 347.

<sup>547</sup> Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Prayer: Content and Function of Some Early Eucharistic Prayers," 121 ff.

<sup>548</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of Gabriel Biel *Canonis Missae Expositio* by H.A. Obermann and W.J. Courtenay, Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag 1964," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 2, no. 1 (1965), 133.

<sup>549</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," 245.

<sup>550</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 348-49; also Giraudo, *Eucaristia per la Chiesa*, 344.

clear that the whole community invokes the Spirit."<sup>551</sup> The priest acts *in persona Christi capitis ecclesiae*, i.e., he acts in the person of Christ the Head of the Church. The priest leads the prayer, but he prays in the name of the whole community. Both Eastern and Western liturgies are clear on this fact. Moreover, the *epiclesis* in the Eastern EPs is used in the plural. The priest knows he is praying in the name of the entire community, in which he is included, therefore the "we" is appropriate.

Kilmartin thinks that the hierarchy of the Church should pay more attention to this observation and invites them to return to the earlier traditions.<sup>552</sup> In his review of Power's book *The Sacrifice We Offer*, Kilmartin asks: "How can it be demonstrated to Roman officials that the Eucharist is a sacrifice 'we' offer, and not something 'he', the priest, does for us?"<sup>553</sup> This is because the words spoken in the Institutional Narrative come not only from the priest, but also through the voice of the assembly, which submits itself to God through the leader of the prayer by means of the Spirit's agency. The Spirit, through all this, draws the assembly into the sacrificial attitudes of Christ – which is identical with his faith, love, and obedience towards the Father – so that the believers are ready to listen and engage themselves in communion with Christ with all their hearts. Following Kilmartin closely, Daly gives further insight into Kilmartin's position with his own reasonable conclusions,<sup>554</sup> maintaining that the priest always speaks in the name of the gathered assembly, and that this is clear from the internal logic and grammar of the liturgy.

However, not everything in the EPs is said in the first person plural. The language changes into first person singular especially during the Institution Narrative. Kilmartin recalls the theology Yves Congar proposed on this issue.<sup>555</sup> For Congar, the recitation of the words of Institution takes us back to doing what Christ did at the Last Supper. This is done by the priest alone by the efficacy received at the time of his ordination. The Church, in pronouncing the words "and with your spirit," joins in his intention. So, for Congar, the Church shares in the formula of *in persona Christi* through joining the intention of the priest who consecrates the gifts. The implication of this view is that the priest can use the first person singular during the Institution Narrative, because the priest acts as Christ Himself. Kilmartin finds Congar's position inadequate. In traditional Orthodox (i.e. Eastern) theology, he claims, the view is somewhat different. The Narrative is recalled from the position of *in persona Ecclesiae*. According to this theology, the priest invokes the Holy Spirit and he speaks

<sup>551</sup> Kilmartin is disappointed with the lack of these pronouns in the new Roman Canon. He states: "In the new Roman Canons the 'we' dimension is lacking, or rather placed in the background. But the General Instruction of the Roman Missal explains that the *epiclesis* is an invocation by which the Church calls on God's power." Cf. Kilmartin, "Ecclesiastical Office, Power and Spirit," 106.

<sup>552</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 336. For the original work of Giraud, cf. Cesare Giraud, *Anafore d'Orient per le Chiese d'Occidente* ed. Robert F. Taft, The Christian East, Its Institutions & Its Thought, a Critical Reflection: Papers of the International Scholarly Congress for the 75th Anniversary of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, 30th May - 5th June (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Orientale, 1996), 339-351.

<sup>553</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of the Sacrifice We Offer: The Tridentine Dogma and Its Reinterpretation by David N. Power, (New York 1987)," *Worship* 62, (1988), 189.

<sup>554</sup> Daly, "Sacrifice Unveiled or Sacrifice Revisited," 33. According to the logic used in the EPs, it is obvious that the priest does not speak on his own name or power; nor, does he act as a mediator between God or Christ and the Church. Throughout the liturgical prayer, the form used is 'first person plural: "we." He always uses "we", "our" and "us." The priest does not say, 'I', 'my' or 'mine' during the EPs except for some "private prayers of the priest" where it is seen here and there.

<sup>555</sup> Kilmartin, "Ecclesiastical Office, Power and Spirit," 105ff.

as a *typos* of Christ and thus in the *name* of Christ but certainly not as a representative of Christ. Kilmartin notes that according to traditional Orthodox theology, the priest utters the words of Institution not *in persona Christi* but *in nomine Christi*.<sup>556</sup> What the priest says in the name of Christ, the head of the Church, is manifested by the Spirit he received during ordination, which connects Him to the Spirit of Christ. More detail on this topic can be found in the second chapter and, therefore, it is not necessary here to enter into any further discussion. Apparently, from these discussions Kilmartin concludes that the Spirit is a conjunct between the priest and Christ. Thus, the priest is able to speak in the name of Christ. In that way, the priest is able to use the first person singular during the Institution Narrative in which he says, "this is *My* body" and "this is *My* blood." Kilmartin seems more satisfied with this Eastern approach than with Congar's interpretation, yet, at the same time, remains dissatisfied, probably because although the Spirit is conceived here as the connector, the connecting link is missing, which for him is faith.

#### 3.5.4.3.4 *The Absent Community*

When the term 'believers' is applied within the paradigm of Kilmartin's theology of the Eucharist, he seems to be referring primarily to the people physically present and participating in a particular Mass. This is clear from his usage of the verb "assemble." According to Kilmartin, in the Mass it is the *assembled* believers who are the "immediate subject of the sacramental celebration."<sup>557</sup> He stresses the importance of the "concrete participants of the celebration" because they are the ones who explicitly respond to the praise and thanksgiving.<sup>558</sup> It does not, however, exclude the believers who are not assembled. When the Eucharist is celebrated sacramentally it includes every baptized Christian throughout the world. However, Kilmartin presents conditions. Participation comes about by the believers' intention. A believer needs to unite his/her intention with the intention of the Church and through it with Christ. As long as a believer unites oneself with the intention of the Church, there is opportunity for him/her to be united to Christ's sacrifice and through Him be united to the universal Church. This is possible through the general priesthood. The believers participate in the priesthood of Christ by their baptism and in that they can "by their habitual intention associate themselves with the Masses of the world."<sup>559</sup> But this is only a very general and basic manner in which believers who are not actually present, virtually participate in an actual celebration of the Eucharist. But, by this way of participating, they do not receive new, special fruits from that Mass.<sup>560</sup> While the general fruits of the Mass are applied to the whole Church in which every believer shares, both the living and the dead, the special fruits are applied first to the priest who celebrates Mass for a particular intention, then to those who gave the stipend for the intention and for whom the priest offers it, and finally to those who participate in the Eucharistic liturgy.<sup>561</sup>

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<sup>556</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>557</sup> Kilmartin, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit," 241.

<sup>558</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 367.

<sup>559</sup> Kilmartin, "The One Fruit or the Many Fruits of the Mass," 63.

<sup>560</sup> Ibid., 57. According to the CCC, fruits of the Mass are the spiritual and temporal blessings obtained through the Eucharistic sacrifice, cf. CCC no. 1414.

<sup>561</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 229-231.

For Kilmartin, all the absent believers are made present by their habitual intentions, i.e., a kind of disposition, based on the general priesthood of the believers. He says those who are physically present in the celebration in fact represent those who are absent. He provides an analogy of a family, which can help us understand this better. Kilmartin writes that "a whole family is represented at a family feast even when some of the members are absent. In the case of liturgy, the whole Church is represented by the gathered local community first and foremost because it is a celebration of the faith of the Church."<sup>562</sup> That means that even if a believer does not attend the Eucharist, he/she is still represented by those who have in fact assembled there in the Mass in faith. Kilmartin borrows this idea from Rahner who concludes that "the whole Church can only participate indirectly through the active devotion of the actual participants of a concrete Eucharistic celebration."<sup>563</sup>

For Kilmartin, being present in the Eucharist brings "an increase in devotion."<sup>564</sup> At the same time, those who are absent should support those who are present with their prayers. But, still, the prayers of those absent are not absolutely necessary because the fruits and efficacy of the Mass come through the entire universal Church. So, every believer, whether present or absent in the Eucharist, is open to the experience of encountering God through Jesus.

Kilmartin argues against the idea of the priest as the person who applies the intention, including the intentions of the assembled community, to a particular Mass and prays for the fruits. For him it is not the priest but the entire universal Church that applies the intention to the particular Mass through its representative – the ordained minister. Kilmartin argues that if one holds to the view that the priest can apply the Mass independently of the Church's intention, then he could destroy the sacramental character of the Mass through a hidden intention. This thought was prevalent in the post-Reformation period. But the priest cannot destroy the sacramental character of the Mass, especially when he is doing what the Church wants him to do.<sup>565</sup> The Church does what "Christ wills be done."<sup>566</sup> The priest presents himself as the one acting as the minister of the Church. Kilmartin says, "the sacraments are entrusted not to the minister independently of the Church" ... [and] that the minister must have the intention "to do what the Church does" (*faciendi quod facit ecclesia*).<sup>567</sup>

Kilmartin also explains the special mode of participation through Mass intentions/stipends given to the priests. In the course of history, various explanations emerged in order to interpret the mode of participation and the fruits received in a Mass by a particular person not physically present and answers varied. According to the practice of Mass stipends, a priest can receive a stipend for a Mass to be celebrated even in the absence of the donor. This custom of requesting a priest to offer the Mass for a specific intention, even when one cannot be physically present at the Mass, is a longstanding tradition in the Church. When a believer offers a stipend to the priest for a specific intention, one unites oneself to the priest's intention. In other

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<sup>562</sup> Kilmartin, "Christ's Presence in the Liturgy," 241; Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," 259.

<sup>563</sup> Rahner and Häussling, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 248.

<sup>564</sup> Kilmartin, "The One Fruit or the Many Fruits of the Mass," 64.

<sup>565</sup> Kilmartin, "The Active Role of Christ and the Holy Spirit," 240.

<sup>566</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 162.

<sup>567</sup> Ibid., 162.

words, the intention is handed over to the priest who can now indirectly make it his own and directly the Church's intention and applies it to the particular Mass.<sup>568</sup> Pope Paul VI refers an Apostolic letter *Firma in Traditione* (1974),<sup>569</sup> which explains that the absent believers for whom the Mass intention is given receive the blessings from the Mass, especially through those who are actually present. Kilmartin observes that in the letter the Pope does not explain the mode of participation.<sup>570</sup> For Kilmartin, the absent donor is said to still have a ritual participation since the celebration itself is made possible by the donor.<sup>571</sup> In introducing this idea, Kilmartin seems to give these believers a kind of "special participation" in addition to the participation of every believer on the basis of the general priesthood. A special fruit is also accrued to the one in whose favour the Mass was applied by the priest.<sup>572</sup> We should sound a note of caution with regard to the gift of the special fruits, for the priest only applies the special intention and not the special fruits, which come from God.

Kilmartin also provides a meaningful answer to the Reformation arguments against private Masses. The priest is able to celebrate private Masses without the congregation because he intends to do what the Church wants him to do and because the Mass is, first and foremost, the celebration of the Church as a whole. Kilmartin's view could also be explained well in the light of Joseph R. Nearon (1928-1984) who believes that because the Mass is the offering of the whole Church, as the whole body of Christ, the Church participates in the grace that flows from it. The priest can also apply the intention to a private Mass not because of his own efficacy but by virtue of his role as the minister in the Church.<sup>573</sup> For Kilmartin, even if the personal faith is low in a priest, he can still apply the Mass to the intention of a donor because it depends not on his efficacy but "on the faith of the Church," and the faith of the Church is "indefectible."<sup>574</sup>

This brings us to the final question: What about those who have no faith? Are they part of the Eucharistic worship, communion, and participation? Summarizing the work of Christian Duquoc (1926-2008), Kilmartin says that the intentions of the participants have the power for a universal fellowship and reconciliation without excluding anybody. Hence, communion is extended even to strangers. The universal reconciliation becomes a real possibility – though the actual fulfilment seems to be eschatological.<sup>575</sup> The destiny of non-believers who did not have a chance to respond to the call of Christ, he assures, depends on the final resurrection of Christ.<sup>576</sup> A detailed study on the final resurrection, Kilmartin thinks, can shed more light on the fate of non-believers.<sup>577</sup>

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<sup>568</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 112 & 213.

<sup>569</sup> Pope Paul VI, "Firma in Traditione," (1974).

<sup>570</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 215-216.

<sup>571</sup> *Ibid.*, 216.

<sup>572</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>573</sup> Joseph R. Nearon, "Digest of the Discussion: On Kilmartin's 'The One Fruit and the Many Fruits of the Mass,'" *Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America* 21 (1966): 37-67, "Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America" 21, (1966), 68-69.

<sup>574</sup> Kilmartin, "Ecclesiastical Office, Power and Spirit," 104.

<sup>575</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," 254-255.

<sup>576</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 273.

<sup>577</sup> Edward J. Kilmartin, "Review of from Limbo to Heaven: An Essay on the Economy of the Redemption, by V. Wilkin. (New York 1961)," *Theological Studies* 23, no. 2 (1962), 314.

### 3.5.4.3.5 Conclusion

We have been reviewing the concept of the believers within the third phase of Kilmartin's definition, from which it has become clear that, according to Kilmartin, the believers refer first of all to the people of God – the baptized Christians. He distinguishes between the Church as a whole and the individual believer. The Eucharistic celebration which provides the communal dimension is the place where the life of faith of the believers grows both for one another and for the entire world. The liturgy is not only the place of common worship but is also the place where the individual believers make their self-offering. These individuals bring the community together. The individual's participation in the life of God is something that is personal and, hence, depends on one's personal effort. The individual is invited to join the whole community and respond to God through Christ in the Spirit in faith.

Kilmartin also speaks of the physically assembled believers, who are the immediate subject and the celebrants of the liturgical celebrations. They not only represent the local community but also the entire Church, including those who are physically absent, for worship. The presiding priest has his own specific role in the liturgy, but not independently of the intention of the Church because he does what the Church intends to do. Those who are physically absent unite themselves to those physically present through their habitual intention based on the universal priesthood. The priest, as the representative of the Church, is able to apply the special intention of the absent believer to his intention through the stipend, through the Church. In this way, he connects the devotion of the absent believer in a special way to the celebration of a particular Mass. Because the priest does what the Church intends to do, he is able to offer private Masses without a congregation.

With this background in place, we move on to analyse Kilmartin's usage of the term "self-offering."

### 3.5.4.4 The Self-Offering [of the Believers]

In the final phase of the definition of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice, we will discuss Kilmartin's concept of the "self-offering" of the believers, answering the questions: What does Kilmartin mean when he uses the term "self-offering" in his definition of authentic sacrifice? And does he apply a similar "sacrificial" act to that which exists between the self-offering of the Father and the self-giving response of the Son on the part of the believers, or something else? Reading Kilmartin, we can draw from his understanding of the liturgical celebrations that this third phase of his definition of authentic sacrifice involves three dimensions, namely: 1) a theological dimension, which pertains to the self-offering of the believers towards God; 2) an ethical/practical dimension, which pertains to the believers' self-offering towards all fellow human beings in daily life; and 3) an eschatological dimension, which pertains to the fulfilment of our transformation into Christ in the *eschaton*. The first two dimensions appear closely linked. Love of God and love of neighbour is to be the essence of authentic meaning of sacrifice. It involves an encounter between God and

human and human beings “among themselves simultaneously.”<sup>578</sup> In either of these two dimensions, it is the Church’s celebration of the Eucharist which is the channel.

The Eucharist works as a channel of self-offering for human beings through the Son to the Father, while the Holy Spirit remains as the source of power in and through which this sacrifice operates. The believers are to spiritually respond to God in thanksgiving through Jesus. Given the centrality of these views, what Kilmartin suggests is that offering of spiritual sacrifices as traced in the NT have more to say than the description found in the “average” theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice. For Kilmartin, spiritual offering of oneself in response to God’s invitation is the key to authentic sacrifice. At the same time, this response is to be reflected ethically or practically in our community life through the power of the same Spirit that was in Christ.

Kilmartin suggest that “there is an intimate connection between liturgical worship and social action.”<sup>579</sup> It seems probable that Kilmartin explains this as follows: whereas the theological meaning of self-offering of the believers seems to be oriented towards faith, the ethical dimension is oriented towards the transformation of attitudes in the personal, practical life of the believers. Christians, who are partaking in the Eucharist, are not merely present there for the transformation of gifts and themselves in relation to God, but also for the transformation of their own attitudes in the world. Our “ethical-religious obligation to Christian action derives” from the solemn celebration of the sacraments and the graceful instruction which comes through it.<sup>580</sup> Having delineated this background, we move on to discuss this ethical dimension.

#### ***3.5.4.4.1 Selfless-Love: An Intrinsic Concept of Theological and Ethical Dimension***

Kilmartin’s theology of self-offering of the believers is oriented not only towards faith and hope, but also towards “love.” For Kilmartin, love is to be the driving force of our sacrifice towards others. The Church’s sacrifices, and thus ours too, are acceptable because they are in conformity with the love and sacrifice of Christ.<sup>581</sup> Although the concept of love is dominant in the ethical dimension, it does not mean that the theological dimension is without love because, for Kilmartin, we bring our sacrifice to God through Christ with love and in love especially in response to God’s love. In fact, love seems to be the core message of his concept of self-offering. Kilmartin says, “God’s offer of love necessarily implies the possibility of a response of love through the gift of faith by which God is moved to bestow his grace.”<sup>582</sup> The essence of our self-offering is love because it is the “concrete acts of love that constituted his [Jesus’] life of love, a life lived faithfully to the end.”<sup>583</sup> So in our response to God through Christ, in the Eucharist, we are empowered by the Spirit to love not only Christ, but also one another.

<sup>578</sup> Kilmartin, “A Modern Approach to the Word of God,” 69.

<sup>579</sup> Kilmartin, “A Roman Catholic Response,” 137-138.

<sup>580</sup> Kilmartin, “A Modern Approach to the Word of God,” 100-101.

<sup>581</sup> Kilmartin, “Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature,” 249.

<sup>582</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 228.

<sup>583</sup> Hahnenberg, “The Ministerial Priesthood and Liturgical Anamnesis,” 269.



Basing himself on Augustine, Kilmartin says, "the core of the Eucharistic liturgy is love: unity of Christians in Christ and with one another in the Spirit of Christ."<sup>584</sup> Kilmartin sees sacrifice as a loving act. His definition of sacrifice points to self-giving love – love that is unconditional. So, when Kilmartin expresses the Trinitarian self-giving in terms of the economic and immanent Trinity, it is unconditional love which is the base. It is also evident in the response of Jesus towards the Father by accepting the Cross. Moreover, Jesus' selfless love can be seen in his words and deeds. His selfless love emerges from an absolute trust and obedience to God's way of life. In the sight of God, however, there is no selfish self-love. Rather, in the sight of God there is only one love which is pure and selfless in nature. It loves not only those who love Him, but also those who hate Him. Moreover, this self-giving life of Jesus "offers the possibility of real life for mankind."<sup>585</sup>

#### 3.5.4.4.1.1 The Theological Dimension of Self-Offering

We have been discussing the theological dimension of self-offering in depth while dealing with the implications of authentic sacrifice in the Eucharist. In this dimension, for Kilmartin, every believer in the Church is invited to offer oneself in order to share in the covenantal relationship with God the Father, and thereby participate in the divine life which is the ultimate goal of authentic self-offering sacrifice.<sup>586</sup> The encounter between God and Christ in human Jesus is open to believers. As we approach the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist, we present ourselves to God the Father in, with, and through Christ as an offering in the form of bread and wine.

The self-offering of the believers is sacramentally and liturgically signified. In our self-offering we call on the Spirit to make us become one in the body of Christ as the bread and wine are transformed into body and blood of Christ. Thus, in becoming one in the body of Christ, the faithful partake in the self-giving response of the Son on the Cross in his response to his Father's self-giving sacrifice. The Eucharistic celebration, the corporate act of the ecclesiastical community, becomes the channel which allows this authentic sacrifice of believers to happen.<sup>587</sup> Kilmartin says that the partaking community not only relates itself to Christ's self-offering, but also that Christ, who is actively present in the Eucharist, "relates his once-for-all self-offering to that of the community of faith."<sup>588</sup> The Eucharist relates humanity to Christ and "in Christ with the Father in the intimate sharing of the Trinitarian life."<sup>589</sup>

What Kilmartin means by the self-offering of the believers from a theological dimension is that we offer ourselves as a sacrifice *through* the sacrificial attitude of Christ in the Eucharist. Just as Christ responded to his Father towards his self-offering in faith, thanksgiving, and obedience, and as Eucharistic people, the believers respond to the Father for his love through Jesus in the Eucharist. The Eucharistic celebration becomes for the believers 'a sacrifice' from two perspectives. Firstly, the Eucharist is a thanksgiving celebration for what God has done in the person of Jesus. It

<sup>584</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 24.

<sup>585</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 100.

<sup>586</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 381-383.

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid.*, 360.

<sup>588</sup> *Ibid.*, 371.

<sup>589</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 132.

"represents, recalls and applies" to each one celebrating it the event of the Cross and resurrection. As previously discussed, it is true that Kilmartin is uncomfortable using the term "representation" in an objective sense.<sup>590</sup> In contrast, he opts for a subjective recall of the historical sacrifice. In the *anamnesis* part of the EPs the Church recalls the saving act of Jesus and his Eucharistic *transitus*.<sup>591</sup> Secondly, it demands our participation in this crucifixion-resurrection event in which faith plays the key role.<sup>592</sup>

The Eucharist is the place where our "life of faith is manifested and realized ... and is a place of saving encounter between God and his people."<sup>593</sup> The faith of the believers here operates as the main factor in having our self-offering realized in the Eucharist:<sup>594</sup> "No Eucharist is possible without the presence of faith on the part of some participant."<sup>595</sup> Our faith in God and in Christ works as a key to sharing in the "faith of Christ" and his faith is the key which serves as the way to the Father.<sup>596</sup> Faith, for Kilmartin, is an act of believing in Christ as "the principle of one's life" and He "is active in the individual."<sup>597</sup> For Kilmartin, faith is mandatory. All human situations "become 'sacramental' in the measure that they are grasped by faith."<sup>598</sup> In this sacramental life of human beings, it is the Holy Spirit who plays a vital role in constituting and evoking the response of faith in the believers.<sup>599</sup> For Kilmartin, an individual comes to the Eucharistic [sacramental] celebration with a "personal faith commitment."<sup>600</sup> Furthermore, in the faith actions, the believers in fact mediate the gifts of the Holy Spirit, who acts through them. Kilmartin states: "through the gift of faith and their particular charisms the members of the Church are enabled to mediate, to one another and those called to the Church, the Holy Spirit, who acts through their faithful witness to the gospel."<sup>601</sup>

#### 3.5.4.4.1.2 Ethical Dimension

Besides the theological dimension, Kilmartin also emphasizes the importance of an ethical dimension, which arises from our participation in the Eucharistic celebration. A Christian, having been incorporated into Christ and sharing the same Spirit "urges the Christ within him to save the world about him."<sup>602</sup> The Eucharist is "the most important sacrament given to the world" to unite ourselves into Christ and to one another. Consequently, we can believe that He has sent us.<sup>603</sup> This is where the ethical dimension comes into play.<sup>604</sup>

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<sup>590</sup> See p. 131.

<sup>591</sup> See p. 195.

<sup>592</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 382.

<sup>593</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 61.

<sup>594</sup> See p. 198.

<sup>595</sup> Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," 248.

<sup>596</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacraments as Liturgy of the Church," 542.

<sup>597</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.

<sup>598</sup> Kilmartin, "When Is Marriage a Sacrament?," 285.

<sup>599</sup> *Ibid.*, 277-278.

<sup>600</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 170.

<sup>601</sup> Kilmartin, "Lay Participation in the Apostolate of the Hierarchy," 366.

<sup>602</sup> Kilmartin, "Patristic Views of Sacramental Sanctification," 160.

<sup>603</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church*, 132-133.

<sup>604</sup> More details on ethical dimension can be found in Kilmartin's book, *Christian Liturgy I*, pages 83-86.

### *A) Eucharist and the Mission of the Church*

For Kilmartin, there is a close relationship between the Eucharist and the mission of the Church. The ethical life of a Christian must be reflected in witness to the Gospel. By their witness of the gospel through love actions, the believers in fact reveal the true nature and self of God.<sup>605</sup> The love actions are the way by which the believers witness to their act of faith in Jesus. The believers, modelling themselves on Jesus, offer themselves in obedience and love to God and others. We know from Scripture that Jesus Himself acted out his faith in social activity. This loving expression can be compared to the "mission of service" of the Gospel to the world, which emerges "as a necessary consequence of the Eucharistic celebration, in which believers profess unity with one another in Christ who came to mediate salvation to the world through both word and loving actions."<sup>606</sup>

While the sacrificial attitude of Jesus both to the Father and humanity is recalled in the Eucharist, the sacrificial attitude of the believers towards God through Jesus is to be re-presented everyday by their attitude towards each other. So, on the one hand, we have the sacrifice of Jesus towards the Father for the sake of humanity and, on the other hand, we have our own sacrifice towards the Father and others through Jesus in the Eucharist. The Eucharist invites us to give a meaning to our "ordinary daily happenings."<sup>607</sup> Only then does our participating in the Eucharistic celebration have meaning.

For Kilmartin, the liturgical celebrations are "a source of affirmation of God's love for the participants."<sup>608</sup> Human beings' "openness to receive the gifts of God is measured by his [her] willingness to receive ... others."<sup>609</sup> Also, it is through love that the intensity of our devotion is measured.<sup>610</sup> Kilmartin expresses it this way: "The Church which believes that God is love, and responds with the display of love is the Church which offers acceptable worship to God."<sup>611</sup> Conversely, Kilmartin says, "social action, the caring for others both structurally and personally, can be a source of revitalization of liturgical prayer."<sup>612</sup> But our self-giving must work in such a way that we are able to accept the "otherness" in the other person.<sup>613</sup>

Our willingness to give ourselves to others must emerge from love. Kilmartin believes that we are enriched by the unconditional love of God. Although he thinks that God's love is present in creation, it is realized *par excellence* in the sending of the Son and the Spirit.<sup>614</sup> If God's love is in us, then it requires us to express it in one or the other way. It means that the believers must remain "in union with one another in love," which expresses the redemptive love of Jesus.<sup>615</sup>

<sup>605</sup> Kilmartin, "Reception in History," 52.

<sup>606</sup> Kilmartin, "The Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue on the Eucharist," 214.

<sup>607</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 143.

<sup>608</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>609</sup> Kilmartin, *The Sacrificial Meal of the New Covenant*, 4.

<sup>610</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 371.

<sup>611</sup> Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," 258-259.

<sup>612</sup> Kilmartin, "A Roman Catholic Response," 138.

<sup>613</sup> Ibid., 138.

<sup>614</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 158.

<sup>615</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist and Community," 89.

A Church or a believer who believes that God is love and responds with love could be considered as one who has offered acceptable worship to God. Acceptable worship means the "actualization of faith."<sup>616</sup> Kilmartin identifies ethical values [attitudes] with those of the Christian faith. He believes that every believer has, according to one's own gifts and talents in life, the obligation to represent Christ "before each other and the world by expressing their faith in word and deed."<sup>617</sup> Hence, the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice is not restricted to the self-offering of the Father and the Son and the believers in faith in the Eucharist but continues to expand in our ethical lives. It is also not just limited to the life within the Church but encompasses the whole of creation. Kilmartin quotes approvingly the United Methodist statement on the meaning and practice of Holy Communion:

The sacraments are God's gifts to the gathered body of believers to form the Church into Christ's body in ministry to the world. Through Holy Communion, the Holy Spirit works to shape our moral and ethical lives. In the ongoing process of conversion, we grow in personal and social holiness and are empowered to work for healing, compassion, reconciliation, justice, and peace.<sup>618</sup>

In Kilmartin's theology, transformation of believers initiates ethical life. As examined already, the *epiclesis* has a dual purpose: the transformation of the gifts and the transformation of the believers, and the former "is subordinated" to the latter.<sup>619</sup> Therefore, the invocation is not limited to the consecration of bread and wine alone but, above all, to its effect in those receiving the bread and wine: "In the power of the Spirit of the Risen Christ," he says, "Christians are to become agents of this 'new creation'... [and] this is how the prayer of *epiclesis* is to be fulfilled."<sup>620</sup> In the Eucharist "we learn, by offering our lives united with the sacrifice of Christ, to offer ourselves in our daily life for the love of the brethren."<sup>621</sup> The communal celebration of the Eucharist is there not merely to make us "feel good" with the Trinity. It is also there so that we can "do good" for God's needy ones. This doing must emerge from love for God and love for others, just as Jesus had. Kilmartin believes our participation in the Eucharist should be oriented towards the service of others. We are called to do this, "impelled by love."<sup>622</sup>

### ***B) Sacrifice of Christ and the Sacrificial Acts of the Believers***

Kilmartin links the believer's sacrificial acts with that of God's and Christ's sacrifice through faith and love, and in so doing, he attempts to qualify the day-to-day sacrifices of the believers in their personal lives as being as authentic as Christ's sacrifice. In other words, the sacrifices of the believers are not foreign to the sacrificial attitude of Christ. There is a co-relation between the two. The reflection of the Father's love and the Son's love for each other and for humanity motivates us to

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<sup>616</sup> Kilmartin, "Apostolic Office: Sacrament of Christ," 259.

<sup>617</sup> *Ibid.*, 264.

<sup>618</sup> Kilmartin, *Toward Reunion: The Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches*.

<sup>619</sup> See p. 174.

<sup>620</sup> Tillard, *The Eucharist, Gift of God*, 114.

<sup>621</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," 253.

<sup>622</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 371.

personal sacrifices towards others. Although, our sacrifices are distinct from that of the self-giving sacrifice between the Father and the Son, the personal sacrifices made between human beings are not to be undervalued because the ethical values of our sacrifices, as Kilmartin says, emerge from our Christian faith and they are in conformity with the sacrifice of Christ. This implies that the sacrifices of the believers become authentic sacrifice especially when aided by Christ's own sacrifice in the Eucharist. It means that active participation in the liturgical celebrations, especially in the Eucharist, makes us active members of love of Christ in faith because "liturgy involves the believer's self-giving *and* God's self-giving."<sup>623</sup> Believers "should not base their expectations on their own powers but on the One who alone can give meaning to all responsible human effort."<sup>624</sup>

The Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice invites a believer in self-offering to give oneself first in the Eucharist and then in everyday life. It also invites one to give oneself in personal sacrifice to others and then, in faith, associate that sacrifice with the sacrifice of Jesus in the Eucharist and so become part of his self-giving response to God the Father. So, we can see in Kilmartin's explanation there is a kind of circle or reciprocity between the first and the second dimensions. In short, a believer should make one's personal sacrifices authentic through Jesus' self-giving sacrifice in the Eucharist and enter "into the life of love of God."

Kilmartin seems to be silent on the value of good works done by non-believers and their participation in the life of God. However, he asserts that the participating assembly in the Eucharistic celebration has the power to universally include even strangers. Non-believers are integrated and become part of the faith-based celebration through the participating assembly.

As members of the body of Christ, the believers are invited to give themselves to the other by the practice of faith in the Eucharist because the sacrifice of Christ Jesus on the Cross is meant for all. Therefore, the main motive for practicing our faith, especially during the Mass, is to enter into the sacrificial offering of Christ Jesus on the Cross<sup>625</sup> and through Him make our sacrificial activities of love and service of value. This brings greater meaning to our own Christian lives. Strictly speaking, every believer is urged to attend the Mass not because of anything magical but because of the ongoing, practical meaning of the Eucharist in our life of faith.<sup>626</sup> As Kilmartin says, "all members of the Church have a pastoral responsibility: a servant function directed toward the good of the whole community," which inherits its essence from the Bible and tradition. Their responsibility is to help believers in a "concrete situation."<sup>627</sup>

#### ***3.5.4.4.2 Eschatological Dimension of Self-Offering***

In his works on the Eucharist, Kilmartin speaks of eschatological hope. Recalling the traditional EPs of the Patristic era, Kilmartin points to a connection centred upon the

<sup>623</sup> Kilmartin, "A Roman Catholic Response," 136.

<sup>624</sup> Kilmartin, "Theology of the Sacraments," 148.

<sup>625</sup> Kilmartin, "Eucharist as Sacrifice," 615.

<sup>626</sup> Kilmartin, "The Basis of Sunday Mass Obligation," 303.

<sup>627</sup> Kilmartin, "Office and Charism: Reflections on a New Study of Ministry," 553.

ecclesial and sacramental magnitude of an individual believer's participation in the Eucharist. He affirms that our participation leads to a better understanding of the supreme motive of our presence in the Eucharistic sacrifice, i.e., that Christians are not merely present there for the transformation of gifts but of themselves. This transformation, for Kilmartin, points towards eschatological transformation. "The transformation of the Eucharistic elements is subordinated to the eschatological transformation, that is, to the reconciliation of all those who participate in the Eucharistic communion."<sup>628</sup> Summarizing the work of Origen, Kilmartin says that our conformity to Christ begins the process of transformation; nevertheless perfect transformation is attainable only in the *eschaton*.<sup>629</sup> At the same time, life in the Kingdom of God is not something that is "reserved simply for the future" but is already available now.<sup>630</sup>

Kilmartin thinks that there is a relationship between the earthly liturgy and the heavenly liturgy. Whereas the heavenly liturgy is the fulfilment of the economy of salvation, the earthly liturgy is the "sacramental accomplishment of the heavenly liturgy."<sup>631</sup> It is an enactment of the heavenly liturgy. It is a real participation and a sacramental accomplishment of the heavenly liturgy. The heavenly liturgy as a fulfilment of the economy of salvation "never ceases."<sup>632</sup> Endorsing the views of Origen, Kilmartin suggests that redemption story does not end here, but it will be finished only at the time of the *Parousia*.<sup>633</sup>

Between the times of these two "meals," Kilmartin cautions the believers that they may have to go through struggles. He says that the life of a Christian in-between the past sacrificial meal and the eschatological meal, is a "struggle with the world."<sup>634</sup> While one is called to enter into a love relationship with God and with one another through the Eucharist, one should be cautious of one's weaknesses and the struggles of life. In this way, Kilmartin points out the imperfection of human beings. For he says, "no member of Christ's Body can be said to exist totally 'for others'."<sup>635</sup> This will only change in the *eschaton* when there is perfection in the eschatological life with Christ.

According to Kilmartin, because heavenly liturgy never ceases, "it can be described with the one word GLORY."<sup>636</sup> Taken together, these views above seem to suggest the "eschatological depth of the Eucharistic Liturgy," in his works.<sup>637</sup> As previously discussed, Jesus and his passage (*transitus*) from self-giving, redemptive suffering and death to resurrection and glorification is realized in the Eucharist, but only at an inchoate level. The final realization of the *transitus* into glorification is eschatological. What emerges from our participation in the Eucharistic celebration is our eschatological hope of being fully transformed in the *transitus* of Christ and his

<sup>628</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 342-343.

<sup>629</sup> Kilmartin, "Patristic Views of Sacramental Sanctification," 154. Also cf. Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," 256.

<sup>630</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 95.

<sup>631</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 190.

<sup>632</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

<sup>633</sup> Kilmartin, "Patristic Views of Sacramental Sanctification," 154.

<sup>634</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 272.

<sup>635</sup> Kilmartin, "Lay Participation in the Apostolate of the Hierarchy," 366.

<sup>636</sup> Kilmartin, *Christian Liturgy I*, 189-190.

<sup>637</sup> Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West*, 61.

attitudes. Therefore, hope plays a key role in this eschatological transformation. Kilmartin gives an eschatological meaning also to our ethical-social sacrifices.

For Kilmartin, sharing in the life of Christ, or communion with Him, which is "eternal life," "involves a reciprocal interaction and interpenetration of Christ and the believer which touches life itself."<sup>638</sup> The Eucharistic celebration (first dimension) and the ethical life (second dimension) point to the eschatological life in God. The Eucharist, which represents the "past sacrificial" meal as well the "future heavenly meal,"<sup>639</sup> demands that participants be another Christ, who loves everyone. They are called specifically to this cause, i.e., to love and serve everyone as another Christ. Kilmartin reminds us clearly of "the brotherly fellowship of the participants who are called to be Christ in person serving one another and the many for whom Christ died."<sup>640</sup> In other words, even though it is not yet, the *eschaton* is not just something belonging to the future but is already present, especially in our love, both our love towards God in the Eucharistic celebration and our love towards fellow human beings in our activities in the world. "Life in the Kingdom of God, as preached by Jesus, is not reserved simply for the future. It is available to those who accept God's nearness."<sup>641</sup> The transformation in Christ must have its effect in making a difference in the lives of others, who go through oppressive times in their lives.

To conclude, from a theological perspective, this self-offering of the believers in the Eucharist, according to Kilmartin, is sacrificial. The Eucharist is oriented towards our faith in Jesus, which is reflected in the love for our fellow human beings and stirs eschatological hope for the perfection of our transformation.

### 3.5.4.4.3 Conclusion

Having considered the "self-offering" of the believers, it becomes clear that for Kilmartin it is the self-offering of the believers, which holds two crucial dimensions, theological as well as ethical, which completes the Trinitarian view of sacrifice. Although these two dimensions are distinguishable, they cannot be separated and are closely linked. From the theological perspective, believers are called to give themselves as a sacrifice to the Father in the Eucharist, symbolically through offering the Eucharistic elements of bread and wine, so that through their faith they might become part of the self-offering of Christ, by the power of the Holy Spirit and join Christ in his self-offering response to God the Father. While the prayer of the Church (*katabatic*) to the Father to send the Holy Spirit upon the Eucharistic gifts to transform them into body and blood of Christ is heard, the prayer of the Church (*anabatic*) to transform the believers into Christ is conditioned and incomplete.

From an ethical perspective, the believers, having allowed the Holy Spirit to instil Christ's attitude of faith, hope, trust, and love in them through the celebration of the Eucharist, are called to give themselves unconditionally in self-offering to one another in love and service, just as Christ did, and expand his sacrifice by making it visible in

<sup>638</sup> Kilmartin, "Bread from Heaven," 13.

<sup>639</sup> Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," 272.

<sup>640</sup> Ibid.

<sup>641</sup> Kilmartin, "A Modern Approach to the Word of God," 95.

their personal lives. Furthermore, believers by their faith can make their sacrifice authentic through their participation in Christ's sacrifice in the Eucharist, and thus are able to make every sacrifice offered in a concrete situation authentic. Love of God and neighbour functions as an intrinsic element between the theological and ethical dimensions. Besides the two dimensions mentioned, Kilmartin also emphasizes a third, eschatological dimension. The self-offering in the Eucharist stimulates the eschatological hope of transformation which will be completed in the *eschaton*.

As a conclusion to the third movement, we can say what Kilmartin proposes in the self-offering of the believers in union with Christ is that, in the Eucharist, the believers – individually as well as in common – empowered by the Holy Spirit in faith, are able to establish union with Christ and offer themselves through Him to God by loving God and other fellow beings. Participation in the *transitus* of Christ and in the inner life of God becomes already an eschatological reality in the Eucharist through faith and love.



## GENERAL CONCLUSION

### A SYSTEMATIC RECONSTRUCTION OF KILMARTIN'S VIEWS ON EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE

The notion of 'sacrifice' is at the heart of the Church's celebration of the Eucharist. However, the term's inherent complexities have, today, rendered its use confusing and unsatisfactory. Given the important place sacrifice holds in nearly all religions, the need for clarification becomes more pressing. Kilmartin, the American Jesuit, investigates the authentic, Christian meaning of sacrifice, with emphasis on its role, purpose, and relationship in the Church's celebration of the Eucharist. Throughout his life, he analysed existent Roman Catholic beliefs and practices about the Mass. He was critical about some crucial aspects in these beliefs and practices, for example: the over-emphasis on the Institution Narrative; the view that the priest is the direct representative of Christ; and the failure to incorporate pneumatological and ecclesiological perspectives, in particular, neglecting the active and unique role of the Holy Spirit in the celebration of the Eucharist, and the lack of theologically accounting for the active participation of the faithful in the liturgical life of the Church. Moreover, he continued to seek a path to ecumenical dialogue between Eastern and Western liturgical traditions. Driven in equal measure by spiritual and pastoral concerns as by academic curiosity, Kilmartin focussed his studies on patristic theology and the sacraments, while constructing a contemporary theology of Trinitarian worship open to ecumenical reality.

The chief goal of this dissertation was to develop a systematic reconstruction of Kilmartin's views on the authentic meaning of Eucharistic sacrifice taking into account his interpretation of historical misunderstandings and contribution to an eventual ecumenical consensus. Although one may initially consider most of his work to be merely a historical survey, we saw how in the course of his academic career Kilmartin began to develop his own systematic theological views on Eucharistic sacrifice.

Much of the resistance nowadays to the concept of Eucharistic sacrifice is due to a misunderstanding of the general notion of sacrifice to be that of a feared priest or a leader of a clan killing something or someone to appease an angry deity. In the first chapter of this dissertation, we discussed various anthropological theories of sacrifice of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries: sacrifice as a 'gift' to gods by Tylor; the meal and communal character of sacrifice by Robertson Smith; sacrifice as a means of absorbing the qualities of a *totem* through magical practices by Frazer; sacrifice as a way of communication between human and the divine by Hubert and Mauss; sacrifice as something human beings make to extract magical power from gods by Van der Leeuw; and sacrifice as a means of appeasing an angry god, warding off present dangers and bringing benefit to the community by Evans-Pritchard. Because it has become very influential in the last decades, we also gave a summary of the more philosophical view of sacrifice by René Girard.

The analysis of anthropological theories of sacrifice served two important purposes. Firstly, it served as a background to a key topic of the entire dissertation, viz., 'sacrifice', by examining the complexity, the diverse approaches to the concept of sacrifice, and showing the evolution in the scholarly understanding of the term. Secondly, the analysis also offered the context for better understanding theological views on the Church's celebration of Eucharist as a sacrifice. Key elements of these theories, especially the images, the elements (destruction of a victim, immolation, consumption, etc.), and the language used, seem also to have been embedded in the Catholic concept of Eucharist as sacrifice. The general historical review of the 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century Eucharistic disputes within the Catholic Church indicated how the Church and Catholic theologians, in their response to the reformers, were quick to say that the Eucharistic sacrifice is not a re-sacrifice of Christ but presupposes and 'represents' the once-and-for-all sacrifice of the Cross. However, while stating that the Eucharist 'represents' the sacrifice of the Cross and is itself also a visible sacrifice, the Council of Trent remained rather vague in its explanation of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist. This led to various theories among post-Tridentine theologians. Common to these theories was the emphasis on the destruction of a victim as requirement for a true sacrifice. In other words, while there are various anthropological aspects of sacrifice, like gift giving, meal, community, spiritual, etc., post-Tridentine theology focused only on one specific aspect, viz., immolation. Kilmartin thinks it is crucial to re-evaluate the anthropological interpretations of sacrifice and, in particular, the idea, prevalent in post-Tridentine theology, that killing a victim belongs to the essence of sacrifice.

From the Reformation to Vatican II, the sacrificial dimension of the Eucharist was a standard topic in Catholic theology, generating a vast literature and offering an array of nuanced, and sometimes conflicting, positions on how Eucharistic sacrifice should properly be understood. While the Council of Trent wrestled with the reformers' views, Kilmartin wrestles both with the legacy of post-Tridentine theology ("average theology") as well as seeking the right answers to the reformers' questions. Kilmartin thinks that with regard to the theology of Mass, very little has really changed since the 16<sup>th</sup> century between Rome and the Reformation. Some 20<sup>th</sup>-century authors, like Vonier and Casel, tried to address some of the issues from a new perspective. To an extent, their contributions had great impact on the mainstream theology of the Church. Vonier gives a spiritually and intellectually enriching interpretation of the Eucharistic sacrifice from a sacramental point of view. He states that the Eucharist is a sacrifice that belongs to the sacramental order and is, in this sense, radically different from the Calvary sacrifice, which was a natural sacrifice or a sacrifice belonging to the natural order. Casel relates the Eucharistic celebration to Hellenistic mystery cults, claiming that in the celebration of the Eucharist, the saving action of Christ is 'trans-historically' present, i.e., via 'mystery'. In the Eucharist, not only does the person of Christ become really present without being multiplied or reduced, but the redemptive acts themselves also become really present; hence, the Mass is literally the identical sacrifice that occurred on Calvary.

The short biographical review at the beginning of the second chapter of this dissertation indicated how Kilmartin continued to articulate his theology of sacraments and liturgy with a view on ecumenism, and began to consider many themes that are important to liturgy, ecclesiology, and ministry. Only in the later

phase of his life did he start to develop his own systematic theological views on Eucharistic sacrifice, clarifying some ambiguities within teachings of the Catholic Church and the problems posed by Reformation theology – not to demean or minimize their thinking but to look for theological stages that pave the way for ecumenical consensus. One of the main reasons for the disagreements between the churches, he thought, was the theological disagreement about the Eucharist and sacrifice. In this way, he identified Eucharistic theology as one of the main keys to work for unity.

While ecumenism was at the heart of Kilmartin's theology, the theological deliberations of scholars such as Casel, Rahner, and Giraudo (in the latter phase) also greatly influenced his views. Following the inquiries of Casel, Kilmartin expanded his ideas on Eucharistic theology. Casel, who reopened the discussion on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, affirmed that the redemptive work of Christ is experienced in the rituals of the Church, particularly in the liturgical celebrations of the Eucharist. Through the sacramental and ritualistic actions, the Church cooperates with the actions of Christ, entering into his redeeming work by faith and responding to God's initiative. The liturgy is Christ's action here in the present. Kilmartin argues that if what was proposed by Casel is true, one should be able to partake in the redemptive work of Christ by one's own personal and interpersonal activity and experience. The active involvement of the faithful in the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice was precisely what was undervalued in Casel's theology. With his critical reflection on the contribution of Casel regarding the presence of Christ in the liturgy, and a kind of reversal of Casel's position on memorial with the help of Giraudo's work, as well as the introduction of pneumatology, Kilmartin smoothed the progress of dialogue with Reformation and contemporary issues of presence, the ministry of the Church, grace, and faith.

Kilmartin echoed some of Rahner's basic theological insights, particularly his view on the self-communication of God and his perspectives on Trinity. Kilmartin's achievement is his integration of Eucharistic theology with Rahner's interpretation of God's revelation in salvation history in terms of the divine self-communication of the Triune God. Kilmartin expanded and deepened Rahner's emphasis on participation in the inner life of the Triune God as the goal of human life by explaining how the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist is an event of Trinitarian communion. By building on the perspectives proposed by Rahner, Kilmartin developed his own work of Eucharistic sacrifice as time went on. Rahner formulated his doctrine of the Trinity starting from the economic Trinity, with particular regard to the revelation of the divine self-communication in Jesus Christ and the continuation of that divine action in the sacramental actions of the Church. God's divine self-communication results in the divinization of human beings through the mission of the Son and the Spirit. Jesus, the perfect revelation of God, is the channel of encounter between God and humans and he continues to give Himself in the sacraments of the Church, offering humankind the possibility of encounter with the Triune God. Every sacramental celebration and, in particular, the Eucharistic celebration, makes the mystery of Christ and the Church really present to one another. In this encounter, the Spirit plays an important role with its transforming power.

Together with Giraudo, Kilmartin stressed the pneumatological and ecclesiological nature of liturgical worship. His detailed, methodological study of Giraudo's theology

of the Eucharist helped him greatly in drawing his own conclusions on the nature of Eucharistic theology for the third millennium. In fact, it is from Giraudo's works on the early EPs that Kilmartin drew more specific answers to the questions he had been wrestling with. In studying Giraudo, the role and functions of the EPs, the priest and the participating assembly, *anamnesis* and *epiclesis*, and the Eucharistic elements became clearer to Kilmartin.

The chronological presentation of Kilmartin's publications showed that he was first an ecumenist and then a liturgist. Kilmartin is both interested in and influenced by ecumenism, and this is reflected in his writings from the beginning of his career. On being asked to teach sacramental theology, he abandoned his dream of a career spent in ecumenical research. However, the seventeen years he spent teaching sacramental theology did not distract him from his focus on ecumenism, and he approached the theme from various perspectives. During his time at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana, Kilmartin concretized his studies of the liturgies of the Churches of East and West, particularly by working with a number of doctoral students from protestant backgrounds, which put him in a position to construct a theology of worship.

Although at the very beginning of his career one can see many articles that are closely related to Eucharist and sacrifice, it would be incorrect to conclude that Kilmartin focused entirely upon these themes from the very outset of his life as a theologian. A closer look at his initial bibliographical materials hints at his interest in every aspect of theology: biblical, pastoral, ecumenical, ecclesiological, sacramental, and liturgical. From this we can conclude that even as a sacramental theologian, he engaged with all these theological themes. In 1964, he published his first book on the Eucharist, giving a detailed historical and theological interpretation of how the primitive Church celebrated the Eucharist. One can see a further development of Eucharistic themes in the following years. Bibliographical material from the 1970s onwards suggests he was already dealing with more complex themes in sacramental theology, such as sacrifice, Trinity, communion, real presence, the role of the Holy Spirit, and ministry, while still maintaining a link with ecumenism. His publications in the 1980s suggest his drive towards a development of a systematic interpretation of the Eucharist by focussing on both its ecclesiological and pneumatological dimensions. The outlines of his concept of the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice and the problematic issues involved are already visible as early as 1981. In the book *Christian Liturgy*, Kilmartin begins to put together various major themes he had been studying in a more accessible language, with convincing arguments. His discovery of Coffey's bestowal model helped him to successfully articulate the inner relationship between the Trinity and their implications to the liturgy, ecclesiology, and ministry. In his final book, the *Eucharist in the West*, he attempts to work out a new Eucharistic theology. Here he adds historically theological evidence to his systematic arguments challenging and refuting the common, or, as he calls it, the 'average', Eucharistic theology while offering a way out of this impasse via a Trinitarian theology of sacrifice. Thus, we can conclude that a more systematic treatment of Eucharistic theology from a Trinitarian perspective begins to appear only at the end of his career, although traces of these ideas are found throughout all his works.

As shown in chapter two of this dissertation, Kilmartin, in the course of his research, worked on many key topics in theology such as trinity, Christology, pneumatology, anthropology, ecclesiology, and ministry. These themes are also in the background of

his search on the authentic meaning of Eucharistic sacrifice, which he formulated towards the end of his life. Kilmartin, in his answering theology, wrestles with many issues. As shown in chapter three, he refers to the unsatisfactory perspectives of the common Catholic Eucharistic theology and reaches the conclusion that such theology is in contrast with biblical, patristic, and most medieval views on the Eucharist, and terms it as 'modern average Catholic theology of the Eucharist'. This average theology is a simple handle for a very complex reality. It is bankrupt and without a future. Kilmartin traces the development of the average theology in earlier times and puts most of the blame for it on post-Tridentine theologians. Their theology developed as a loose synthesis of scholastic concepts during the second millennium. He also regrets the outcome of the theological debates of the Council of Trent which, by its authority, limited the possibilities of creative theology.

The core issue behind this average theology is the objective representation of the sacrifice of the Cross in the Mass. The sacrificial character of the Last Supper, of the Cross, and the Mass were interpreted from the general anthropological views of sacrifice. The shortcomings of this average theology are numerous: there is a lack of a Trinitarian perspective and an overemphasis on the Christological perspective, (Institution Narrative); the role of the Holy Spirit is neglected; there is very little knowledge of the theological structure and content of the EPs or the prayer that is addressed to the Father. Additionally, there is neglect of the ecclesiological perspective, i.e., although the ordained priest is viewed as the sole celebrant of the Eucharistic sacrifice, the role of the participating assembly is not fully addressed. The laity is considered to be only standing there, consenting to the action of the priest. Such theology underscores an active clergy and inactive laity. There is also the minimal awareness of the ultimate or eschatological goal of the Eucharist, i.e., the believer's transformation into the body of Christ and through Him into a life with God. Moreover, there is too much exclusive emphasis on the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharistic elements. Many of these shortcomings have since been addressed in post-Vatican liturgical reforms; however, echoes of them still lie within Church teaching and liturgical practice.

Kilmartin was eager to find an alternative to the 'average Catholic theology of the Eucharist'. A systematic integration of liturgy within a Trinitarian framework looked to be a good solution. Having researched the works of the early patristic sources and also scholars like Casel, Rahner, and many others, Kilmartin's articulation of the liturgy's relation to the Trinity attained prominence. In the second section of the second chapter we explained a number of basic theological concepts that constitute the conceptual background of Kilmartin's Eucharistic theology and are crucial for understanding his theological enterprise. The most significant is the Trinity, which must remain the starting point and goal of theology. In line with Rahner, Kilmartin starts with the economic Trinity, i.e., with salvation history. Moreover, taking Rahner as the point of departure for his theological inquiry into the mystery of the Trinity, Kilmartin focused on the Eastern emphasis on the divine *threeness* of God, giving priority to the economic Trinity and analyzing the characteristics of Trinitarian relationships by further developing Coffey's bestowal model and applying it in sacramental and liturgical contexts. All aspects of our salvation – the creation, history, humankind, grace, incarnation, mission of the Spirit, and the Church – are the work of the Trinity and must be understood in terms of this mystery. Once the Trinity is appreciated as dynamic, then those partaking in the liturgy will be more able to

appreciate, for example, the Church as the unity of the Spirit, grace as the indwelling of God, the priest as a mediator rather than a consecrator, and Jesus Christ as our way, our truth, and our life. While human beings can encounter God in creation, history, and in human kind, for Kilmartin, the most intimate and personal encounter is through the sacraments. In other words, of the many ways to encounter God, the most real, personal, and intimate for believers is during participation in the sacraments. The liturgical celebration of the sacraments is a form of response of faith from the worshipping community to God, for it is here that the self-communication of God is entirely revealed in and through signs and symbols, people and places. Active participation in the sacramental activities fulfils its purpose: an encounter with the Triune God. Every celebration of a sacrament affects our personal bond with God and one another. In the liturgy, the mystery of the Trinity is fully revealed. It is the place where God's 'doing' could be fully sought and understood. The liturgy is a special mode of the personal presence of Christ. Christ is primarily present in the liturgical assembly through faith. The community's gathering for worship, sacrifice, and renewal of the covenant, the proclaimed Word of God, the sacramental action of the assembly in memory through prayer and petition, and the ministers representing Christ through ordination are all modes by which Christ's presence can be experienced through faith and in the Spirit. It is faith that maintains a relationship of continuing bonds with Christ.

For Kilmartin, the two important sources of encounter between God and humans are *Logos* and *Spirit* Christology. Classical theology sides more with the descending Logos Christology, but in Kilmartin's view, this has to be reconciled with Spirit Christology. He thought the latter was dominant in the NT period but lost its priority in due course. Kilmartin had come to realize how complex these Christological problems were and why Spirit Christology had been largely abandoned for centuries in Western theology due to a specific interpretation of the *ad extra* axiom and the notion of appropriation, and because of the prevalence of the procession model. A restoration of a personal and proper mission of the Holy Spirit was undertaken by the 4<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene School. However, only 20<sup>th</sup>-century Spirit Christology marks a return to the NT view. Kilmartin integrated the NT and patristic views (4<sup>th</sup>- and 5<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene) of Spirit Christology giving a balanced interpretation and thereby allowing the proper and personal role of the Spirit to work better in the sanctification of the humanity of Jesus and us. It is the Spirit which, in sanctifying Jesus, unites Him to the Logos. The same Spirit continues its mission in the Church and its sacramental activities. Spirit Christology also helps to account for the visible presence of Christ in the Church and liturgy; the function of the Spirit goes beyond the consecration of Jesus Christ and elevation of Christ to the Logos, and includes making Christ present in the Church in all its sacramental activities. Kilmartin's ascending Spirit Christology includes and complements the descending Logos Christology. Employing the bestowal model developed by Coffey, Kilmartin attempts to give a theological account of how the community of the faithful, in its dialogue with God through Christ in the Spirit, participates in the inner-Trinitarian self-communication and the life of God. For Kilmartin, Coffey's bestowal model was a powerful eye-opener. It relativized and complemented the long-standing procession theory which in Kilmartin's opinion did not fulfil the goal of liturgical theology, viz., the human divine encounter and dialogue, since it signified only a one-way motion. Coffey based his theory on the Augustinian mutual love theory. Augustine also held a procession model, but this model limits itself to the processions of the Son and Spirit, whereas

the mutual love theory explains the relationship between Father and Son via the Spirit as a gift, which is given by the Father to the Son and given back by the Son to the Father. However, the bestowal model does not deny the procession model, it completes it in a wider context. The bestowal model functions both on the level of the immanent and the economic Trinity. The Trinitarian relations within salvation history, in particular, the bestowal of the Spirit by the Father on the incarnated Logos, and the return of the Spirit to the Father by Jesus on the Cross, reflect the eternal relations within the immanent Trinity. But the bestowal model also helps to account for a personal mission of the Spirit. Christ bestows the Spirit on the Church and this incorporates the faithful into the communion of the Trinity. Kilmartin integrated the bestowal model into his theological investigations on liturgy, Eucharist, Church, and priesthood. He thought that the dialogical character was central to the celebration of the Eucharist and the bestowal model helped to interpret and establish the dialogical relationship. The bestowal model projects a communication from God to human and human to God.

With respect to Kilmartin's theological anthropology, we saw that the purpose of the human-divine encounter in the Spirit is oriented towards participation in the divine life of God, the ultimate goal of humanity. For Kilmartin, this also has a wider, cosmological context. Everything that has been created is called to return to God. But Kilmartin does not elaborate this in great detail. The same goes for original sin, which does not seem to play an important role in his theology. Kilmartin does highlight that – apart from (original) sin – humanity is not capable of uniting itself to God through its own natural powers; the initiative, therefore, comes from God. God reveals Himself in his creation, in human history and urges human beings to respond to Him freely. But while the initiative comes from God and not from humanity, this does not mean that humanity remains inactive. They have to co-operate with God through Christ in the Spirit in the Church and its sacramental activities.

The Church is the body of Christ; therefore, in and through the Church, an encounter with God through Christ becomes a reality. The Church can be called an instrumental cause of the encounter. Following Rahner and Schillebeeckx, Kilmartin denotes Christ as the primordial sacrament because it is through Him that an encounter with God is mediated. Christ continues to be the means for this continuing encounter in the life of the Church. The Church continues as the body of Christ and is also the "sacrament of the man Jesus Christ," because it is through the Church's mediation that communication with God and humans through Jesus is established. While Jesus is the primordial sacrament, the Church is the comprehensive or the root sacrament. The Spirit, which is the cause of unity between Christ and the Church, makes the personal encounter between God and human beings a reality and, hence, it has a special role in the Church. However, according to Kilmartin, the Spirit's special role is often undervalued even in the Vatican II's ecclesiology, which remains predominantly Christomonistic ecclesiology. Kilmartin overcomes the issue of the Church being understood as *alter Christus* by involving the third person of the Trinity, bestowed upon the Church by Christ. The Spirit receives its own mission from the glorified Christ and, hence, remains "Christ-ward." Kilmartin maintains both a proper and personal mission of Christ and of the Spirit in his ecclesiology and avoids the mix up between the two. The mission of the Spirit to the Church consists in a double sanctification: sanctification of the Eucharistic elements and the sanctification of the

believers. Just as the Spirit works as the unity between the Trinitarian persons, (bestowal model), it also works as the bond of our unity with Christ and the Church. The unity and communion between the Trinitarian persons must work as the foundation of our unity in Him, which includes the communion of Churches and the communion of the laity and clergy.

Kilmartin's reinterpretation of the priest's twofold function of *representatio Christi* and *representatio ecclesiae* has a wide-ranging impact on the understanding of ministry. In order to develop a rich theological understanding of the twofold aspect of ministry, Kilmartin suggests that an analysis of the current understanding of ministry (priesthood) in the Church is necessary. There is an implicit allusion to the ecclesiological aspect in the insistence that the sacramental rites are to be celebrated by a properly ordained minister, but commonly this celebrant is seen as the sole essential performer of the sacramental activities. In the Christomonistic model of ordained ministry, there is little room for the laity. The current theology of the ministry includes the late medieval emphasis on the consecrating power of the priest, and thereby minimizes the understanding of the communion of the believers. The Institution Narrative tends to emphasize the Christological elements of the EPs and focuses attention on the ordained priest who is thought to act *in persona Christi*, which diminishes the common or the universal priesthood of believers by baptism. The *in persona Christi* as opposed to *in persona ecclesiae*, denies the Church's direct relationship with Christ. In the context of a dominant *in persona Christi* theology, the Christian faithful seem merely to provide the proper context of the celebration of the Eucharist, rather than being the active subject of the celebration itself. Hence, it fails to do justice to the participating assembly.

In contrast to this theology of priesthood, Kilmartin proposed the following alternative. Ministerial priesthood must be understood from a wider perspective, from the universal priesthood: a priest is first the priest of the Church; there is no disjunction between the two roles as representative of Christ as Head of the Church and as the representative of the Church.

Kilmartin stresses the priesthood of baptism. For him, baptism is a key sacrament that introduces the believers into the priestly character of Christ. The priestly character of the faithful originates in baptism and the baptismal priesthood illuminates ecclesial ministry. The believers first share in the sacramental character of Christ's priesthood, which enables them to resemble Christ. This is not to say that Kilmartin argues against ordained priesthood or against the concept of the apostolic succession. Rather, he stresses the importance of recognizing the traditional views of common priesthood, through which the believers are able to share in the same faith of Christ. He believes that when the emphasis on the *in persona Christi* is reinterpreted in terms of "Head of the Church," then the suppressed *in persona ecclesiae* will attain prominence. This also means that, liturgically, the moment of consecration will no longer focus exclusively on the Institutional Narrative. The focus would shift from the activity of the priest to the entire assembly actively participating in the celebration. Moreover, this can overcome the short-circuited understanding of the relationship between Christ and the Church by showing that the ordained minister directly represents, first of all, the faith of the Church and, in doing so, represents Christ and his human faith. Because he represents the faith of Christ, he represents the Church. Faith is the connecting bond between Christ and the Church in Spirit. This faith was given to the



Church as a whole and, therefore, it takes precedence. By their own ordination, ministers of the Church are able to participate in the special priestly charisma, which allows them to unite themselves to Christ while also resembling him during the Eucharistic consecration.

The traditional view is that ministerial priesthood, and thus its power, originate from the sacrament of ordination. The priest is ontologically changed into Christ, and thus can say, "This is my body" or "I absolve you." However, in the Trinitarian model of authentic sacrifice, the priesthood is viewed from the perspective of baptism and universal priesthood. Hence, the priest is one of the faithful who has been authorized to do certain things on behalf of the community, such as offering the prayers to which the gathered assembly responds with a solemn "Amen."

Although in principle every baptized person sharing in the common priesthood is able to celebrate the Mass, only a priest who has received a valid ordination can preside at the Mass, as ministerial priesthood comes through the apostolic succession. The service of building up the local community of believers is under the purview of the apostolic office, which is an 'essential structure' of the Church that the third person of the Trinity establishes on the day of Pentecost. This office is exemplified by its spiritual, pastoral, liturgical, and ethical activities. The ordained ministers are called to act in the person of Christ, carrying out with intention all that the Church intends to do. However, Kilmartin did not see why, in some cases, the Eucharist of the other denominations cannot be seen as valid and acceptable based on the priesthood of baptism. In other words, protestant Eucharistic celebrations cannot be judged invalid because of the failure of valid orders. Rather, they must be judged only in relation to what they signify and symbolize within the comprehensive ecclesial reality of the community and the Eucharist. Initiated into baptism and through it to the universal priesthood, the believers can represent the faith of the Church.

In chapter three we discussed how Kilmartin strives to argue against the weaknesses of Western Eucharistic theology which, according to him, require correction from a Trinitarian view taking into account the ecclesiological wealth of Eastern and patristic theologies. His approach to liturgical theology focuses on the role of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy, and in his critical analysis of the "average modern Catholic Eucharistic theology," Kilmartin realized that this theology no longer did justice to the central Christian mystery.

In this chapter we also identified a number of basic methodological principles in Kilmartin's theology. First, he wanted to do "liturgical theology," integrating the *lex orandi* and *lex credendi*. A second connecting thread is his rejection of what he calls the anthropological view of sacrifice, replacing it by a Christian concept of sacrifice based on the NT and the early patristic teachings. Third, he approaches theological questions from a historical point of view point of history: the Eucharistic doctrines, texts, and practices of the early Church, medieval developments in the West, and the outcomes of post-Tridentine theology. Fourth, he uses systematic-theological models, in particular, the Trinitarian bestowal model, to structure his theology of Eucharistic sacrifice.

A large part of Kilmartin's historical research consists of studying and interpreting the structure, content, and development of the early Christian EPs. In these texts he found

the basis for what he considered a more sound and balanced theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice, which takes into account the proper mission of the Holy Spirit and the believers' response to God through Christ by means of active participation in the Eucharistic sacrifice. A detailed study of these prayer texts provided Kilmartin with the needed missing link, viz., the Trinitarian dynamic, in the sanctifying power of the Spirit and in the *anamnesis* (memorial) aspect of the Eucharist, for judging what should be normative for Eucharistic theology regarding the sacrificial character of the Lord's Supper and the consecratory power of the prayer of the Church. Kilmartin thinks that the content and structure of the early EPs reveal a unified tradition common to both the East and the West. The main characteristic of the unified tradition is a bipartite structure, namely, *anamnesis* and *epiclesis*: *anamnesis* functioning as the means of remembering the covenant made and renewing the covenant; and *epiclesis* functioning as the means of sanctification of the Eucharistic elements and the assembly with the Institution Narrative as the embolism.

However, specific liturgical and theological developments led to a distinction between Western and Eastern traditions. According to Kilmartin, already in the 1st century, the Eucharist had changed its character of a symbolic festive meal, and the EPs as thanksgiving prayers began to incorporate more sacrificial language: a separation of the offering of the covenant sacrifice from the communion in the sacrificial meal became more evident. During the 4<sup>th</sup> century, discussions on the real presence came to the foreground. The 4<sup>th</sup>-century Antiochene concept of the somatic real presence was adapted by Ambrose who interpreted it in his own way. Augustine opted for a spiritual presence, and others who followed him, like Pope Gelasius, stressed the grace of God in the change of the Eucharistic elements. Thus, within the Western tradition, ideas on Eucharistic presence diverged. Ambrose, who stressed the Institution Narrative, thought that the somatic real presence was realized by the words of Christ recited in the Institution Narrative and eventually his interpretation of the coming about of the somatic real presence became standard in the Western tradition. The Eastern tradition, however, drew on the theology of the commemorative actual presence and continued to keep the *epiclesis* with a double function: the transformation of the gifts and the transformation of the believers. In the Western Church, in which the Institution Narrative dominated, the *epiclesis* was removed by authoritative decision. As we have already seen, Kilmartin thought that the emphasis on the Institution Narrative also had negative implications for the sacraments, liturgy, priesthood, etc.

In Kilmartin's work, we have been able to see a thoroughly Trinitarian rethinking of Christian sacrifice, which allows us to understand sacrifice as rooted in divine initiative and bound up in the self-gift of God in Word and Spirit, in contrast to the ideas we see in the anthropological views of sacrifice: sacrifice as something that comes from humans to God. Kilmartin's rejection of the anthropological view of sacrifice is based on four main points. First of all, the anthropological view starts with human activity/initiative and, secondly, it involves bloodshed and destruction of the victim. Thirdly, it tends towards utilitarianism, i.e., the purpose of sacrifice aims at attracting favour, and fourthly, the sacrifice of the Cross is final, i.e., the Christ-event has done away with sacrifice in the general sense of the term once-and-for-all. However, what Kilmartin calls "the anthropological view of sacrifice" (or "history of religion meaning of sacrifice") does not fully correspond with the actual theories that

different anthropologists have developed, and which were discussed in the first chapter of this thesis.

There is some convergence between the historical-theological background against which Kilmartin developed his theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice and, more generally, the anthropological theories of sacrifice developed from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, in particular, with regard to Kilmartin's idea of the Eucharistic sacrifice as a gift, i.e., offering oneself to God and one another.

From Kilmartin's perspective, the sacrifice of the Eucharist is not only God's gift to the believers, but also is a call for the response to the gift. Emphasis on the "gift" idea of sacrifice (like Tylor's) risks misinterpretation of the Eucharist according to the criticism of Hedley and Mauss. When taken to its logical conclusion, this criticism would mean that the Eucharist becomes a means by which either God uses people or people use God. For Kilmartin, who would reject such a utilitarian theory, the sacrifice of the Eucharist is not so much a means of manipulating God, but more the way to channel believers' participation in the Trinitarian divine life of God through Jesus Christ. The very fact of reciprocity is reminiscent of Tylor's concept of sacrifice as a gift, but contrary to Tylor's idea, in Kilmartin, the first initiative comes from God.

Another similarity is with Robertson Smith's meal theory, according to which sacrifice as a meal establishes a relationship with God and humans. Kilmartin had been arguing throughout his theological enterprise that the Eucharist is a meal that establishes participation and communion. Hubert's idea of sacrifice as something that establishes communication between the sacred and the profane can also become another point of comparison with Kilmartin's idea of participation.

Kilmartin provides us with a methodological alternative to an anthropological methodology because, as a theologian, he, unlike an anthropologist, looks at Scripture, the early Church, and liturgy as sources for a Christian theology of sacrifice. Kilmartin opts for a notion of sacrifice that is spiritualized, i.e., concerning the spiritual response of people towards the ultimate sacrifice of Christ. The NT uses the word 'sacrifice' in a Christian (spiritual) context to explain the self-offering of Jesus and the Christian believer; elements like love, faith, and obedience to the Father are regarded as necessary. Authentic sacrifice, in its Christian understanding, means the interpretation of sacrifice from the biblical point of view, incorporating the traditional views offered by various Church Fathers – and, in particular, by the early Latin/Greek Church Fathers, who related the sacrifice of the Cross to the Church's liturgical celebration of the sacrament of the Eucharist, highlighting the power of the redeeming sacrifice of Christ.

Kilmartin defines authentic sacrifice within the framework of Trinitarian theology. Basically, 'sacrifice' means a mutual self-giving. It must begin from the triune God and then move to people; not from people to God. Using the Trinitarian bestowal model of Coffey, Kilmartin argues that in the immanent Trinity, from and for all eternity, the Father gives Himself as a gift in love (represented by the Spirit) to the Son; the Son, in return, responds to the Father with the same love. God intends to invite humanity to insert themselves into this mutual self-giving. This eternal plan is realized in the economic Trinity. It is here that Kilmartin defines authentic sacrifice in

three movements. First, the Father through Jesus extends the invitation to humankind to be part of the inner-Trinitarian life; the Father sacrifices the Son, who is incarnated through the Spirit. The sacrifice of the Father, Kilmartin shows, is in the Father's letting go of his Son. Second, in the power of the Spirit, Jesus, the perfect image of God, responds to God on behalf of humanity, so that the covenant with the Father might be renewed. In his humanity, Jesus responds to God in faith, love, and obedience and embraces the Cross. Hence, his sacrifice on the Cross is authentic. While Jesus is divine, He is also human and through Him and is human response there is a possibility for believers to respond to God. This is the third movement: the participation in the authentic sacrificial event of the Cross by the faithful.

It is the sacrament of the Eucharist that enables human beings from every time and place to participate in the authentic paschal sacrifice of Jesus. While it is a "once and for all" event, human beings have the possibility of receiving a share in Christ's paschal sacrifice by way of participation in the Eucharist. As already mentioned, Kilmartin sees the Eucharist as an action of the entire Church, which is Christ's mystical body. According to Kilmartin, the Eucharist is a sacrifice, not a new sacrifice or another sacrifice, but a continuation of the sacrifice of the Cross. The sacrifice of the Cross and the Mass are the same sacrifice offered to God by the same person Jesus Christ for the same reason but under different appearances. In the Eucharist, Jesus continues to respond to God through his glorified humanity and in faith by the power of the Spirit. So, the humanity of Jesus and his faith are both still operative. In the Eucharist, the single *transitus* of Jesus from historical suffering to eternal glory is recalled for believers so they can make their *transitus* in Christ and through Him with God. The celebrating community presents itself to the sacrifice of the Cross and to its saving actions in the Eucharist. The sacrifice of Jesus is sacramentally visible in the form of communion and table fellowship. This is made visible not by the power of the priest, but of the Church, the mystical body of Christ. By our *transitus* in Christ we become one with Him. However, Kilmartin warns that it would be wrong to think that we actually become Christ. Participation in the very being of Christ is impossible because Christ's being is incommunicable. For Kilmartin, the possibility to be transformed into Christ comes through the power of the Spirit in faith. Called through the liturgical *epiclesis*, the third person of the Trinity is asked to do the same with the believers as He did with Jesus during his baptism, when the Spirit consecrated Him. The Eucharistic elements are placed by the risen Lord, the host of his meal, in relation between Himself and the believers. The sanctification of the community is symbolically represented by the sanctification of the bread and wine by the Spirit. However, ultimate transformation in Christ is only for the *eschaton*.

The *kenosis* of the Spirit is visible in its actions. The Spirit has the role of uniting the faith of the believers with the faith of Christ, especially through his priesthood, as that priesthood of Christ is the only viable way for humanity to connect itself to the Father. In other words, the Spirit connects our priesthood by baptism with Christ's priesthood as represented by the ordained priest. Faith is the connecting device between Christ and us. In fact, the Church does not add anything to the self-offering of Christ. Rather, because of the gift of the Holy Spirit, the Church is added into the self-giving sacrifice of Christ.

The participation in the life of God is something personal and requires a personal effort, which depends on their faith, from the believers. The liturgy is not only the

place of common worship but is also the place where individual believers make their self-offering. Theologically, the believers are called to give themselves as a sacrifice to the Father in the Eucharist, symbolically through offering the Eucharistic elements of bread and wine. The Eucharist, which has the power to incorporate us into the authentic sacrifice of Jesus, also has the power to make our sacrifices authentic. Therefore, believers are called by their faith to make their sacrifice authentic through their participation in Christ's sacrifice in the Eucharist. Even though in the Eucharist believers do not confect the sacrifice as Christ does, they offer with Him, by virtue of the common priesthood, their own spiritual sacrifices represented by the bread and wine from the moment of their presentation at the altar. They are united to Him by Eucharistic communion especially in the eating and drinking actions of Jesus' body. Moreover, it does not mean only those who are present at the liturgical celebrations are participating in Christ's offering of Himself; rather, the participating assembly also represents others through their personal intentions.

Finally, one might ask how does Kilmartin's theology justify the importance of the relation between Word and sacrament? The answer would be that sacramental liturgy is the prayer of the Church made in faith. In response to God's Word proclaimed, the gathered assembly in the name of Christ uses the symbolic actions of Christ, whose source is the Spirit, to represent and celebrate the shape of God's grace. Made in faith, and through the agency of Jesus Christ, God is invoked for the gift of the Spirit. Because this prayer is made by an assembly, symbolically structured to express its full identity as the people of God gathered by and around Christ, the community believes that this prayer is always heard. So, the Eucharist invites one to offer his/her prayers together with his/her daily sacrificial offerings to God in faith. Through the Eucharist, especially in the offering of the bread and wine, the believers get their devotional and spiritual sacrifices consecrated. These daily sacrifices that they make, really and substantially, become Christ's own sacrifice. In other words, their sacrifices become sacred species. In this way, believers can come to know that in the Eucharist they not only offer the spotless victim but also themselves daily.

By relating themselves as the priestly people to the Eucharistic sacrifice and actively participating in God's self-giving love, the true meaning of sacrifice becomes clear to those who relate themselves to the Church. For these believers, the true strength of faith comes from the power of Eucharistic participation because the Eucharist is, first and foremost, a way of structuring one's inner life in which one gives oneself in communion with the Trinity. This allows one to express the faith in the liturgical celebrations and then in the external practice of one's actions towards, and interactions with, fellow people. Kilmartin would consider these acts as 'real sacrifice' as long as they are aided and inspired by faith and pure love. We recall the sacrifice we mentioned in this dissertation's introduction – the sacrifice of Kamma for the love of her family. Does her sacrifice have value in the writings of Kilmartin? Definitely. Rooted in faith, her sacrifice emerges out of pure love and so promotes love. Although writers such as Michel Foucault<sup>642</sup> and Barbara H. Andolsen<sup>643</sup> see the notion of self-sacrifice as "something destructive to the self," in the light of Kilmartin's works, sacrifices are meaningful in a Christian's life as "there is no

<sup>642</sup> Foucault calls self-sacrifice "violently destructive." Cf. Michel Foucault, "About the Beginning of the Hermeneutics of the Self: Two Lectures at Dartmouth," *Political Theory* 21, no. 2 (1993): 198-227.

<sup>643</sup> Barbara Andolsen views self-sacrifice as "something destructive to the self." Cf. Barbara H. Andolsen, "Agape in Feminist Ethics," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 9, no. Spring (1981), 77.

greater love than this: that a person would lay down his life for the sake of his friends" (Jn. 15.13). Sacrifice made towards and for each other continues to have great value, both theologically as well as ethically, despite the negative connotations.

Let me end this dissertation with an Indian proverb which I came across some time ago: "Everything that is not given is lost."<sup>644</sup>

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<sup>644</sup> Indian Proverb quoted from Ana Ganza, *Journey of Hope - Authorized by Mother Teresa* (Ontario: Agnel Publishing, 2014).

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## About the Book & the Author

The concept of sacrifice has become very complex in society today with various meanings attached to it. This work attempts to reconstruct the view of Edward J. Kilmartin S.J. (1923-1994) on the Eucharist as a sacrifice. It provides an accessible systematic introduction to the work of Kilmartin and its sources.

Kilmartin views the Eucharistic celebration as the core of Christian life and of Christian theology, where the central mysteries of the faith come together. He considers the Eucharistic sacrifice from a Trinitarian angle and suggests a renewal of its understanding from a New Testament and early Christian perspective. Kilmartin uses an interdisciplinary approach, which includes historical, liturgical and systematic-theological analyses. His ground-breaking thought has further implications yet to be teased out.

As a whole, this book will be of interest to both students and scholars alike who are interested in Kilmartin, early Christian Church and Eucharistic theology.

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